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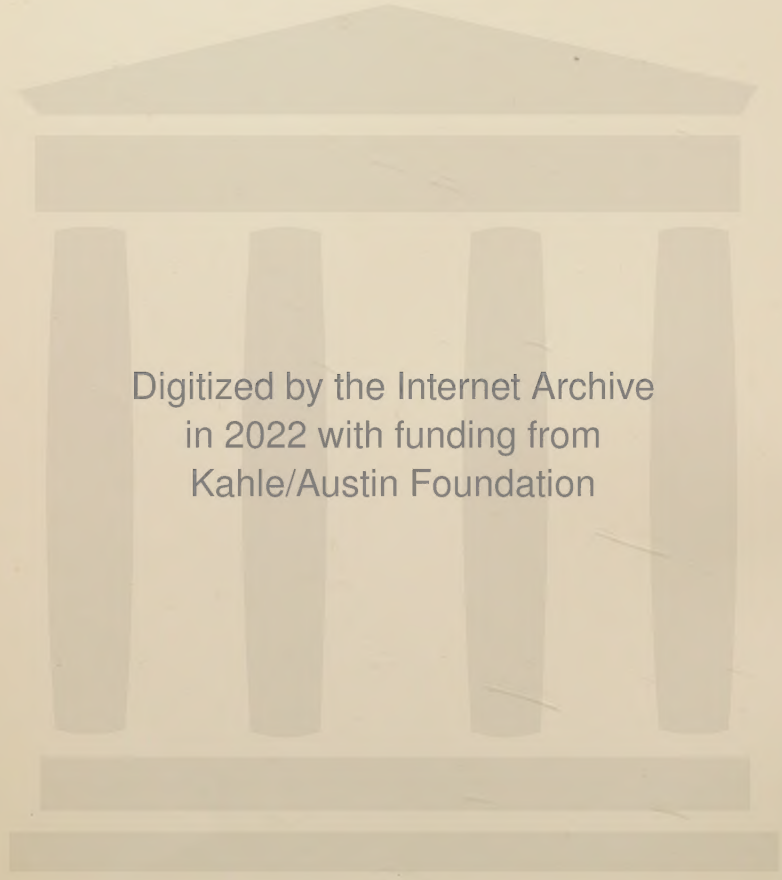
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THE PORTICO.
From a drawing by H. O. Corfiato.

[*Frontispiece*

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE LONDON

1826—1926

BY

H. HALE BELLOT, M.A.

FORMERLY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY; READER IN MODERN HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

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TO

THE FUTURE GENERATIONS

OF STUDENTS

PREFACE

This book can pretend to be little more than an index to the materials to which, in respect of University College, scholars must needs have recourse in order to write the history of those departments of learning so notably enriched by the labours of the nineteenth century. I lost at the outset the guidance of Sir Rickman J. Godlee, to whom the preparation of the volume was first entrusted, and whom it was to have been my duty to assist—a guidance doubly precious for his acknowledged authority as a medical historian and for his long and intimate association with the college. I have sought not to pass, or to appear to pass, upon matters clearly beyond my competence, and it will be apparent from the footnotes how much I owe to the heads of departments, and others my former colleagues, in respect to subjects in which they are severally expert. I have also many other obligations to acknowledge which will be less obvious to the reader. To the Provost, Sir Gregory Foster, the book in the main owes its existence. It was he who planned it. And I must be allowed to express my gratitude for his constant support, for his toleration of my vagaries, and for the freedom with which I have been allowed to tell the story as I read it. To the accuracy, enterprise, and wide reading of Miss Hester Raven-Hart, who has assisted me throughout, I am very greatly indebted. The charts showing the growth of the departments were prepared by Sir Gregory Foster, and then set up by Mr. W. K. Hill and written by Mr. H. Warren Wilson, though I must myself take responsibility for any errors which there may be in them. To Mr. Wilson I am also indebted for the lettering of the plan of the distribution of the departments within the building. The statistical charts were the work of Mr. J. O. Irwin and Mr. J. Wishart. Mr. Arthur Stratton prepared the block plan showing the

growth of the site and buildings. The drawings of the Portico and of the Slade School were made specially for this volume by Mr. H. O. Corfiato.

To the good offices of the late Lady Brandis I was obliged for enquiries made for me in Bonn by Professor F. von Bezold and Professor W. Levison. I have to thank Mr. E. Abrahams and Colonel O. E. d'Avigdor Goldsmid for the loan of manuscripts. To Mrs. Russell Barrington I am indebted for permission to use the undergraduate letters and note-books of Walter Bagehot, to Miss B. A. Clough for access to the Clough MSS., and to the Trustees of Dr. Williams' Library for permission to use the Crabb Robinson MSS.; and in respect of the last I am to state that the Trustees are not responsible for the selections which I have made and that I and my publisher waive any copyright in them. To the German Foreign Office I am greatly obliged for the communication of material relating to the life of von Mühlenfels. I am under similar obligations to the Library of Congress, and to the courtesy of the officials at the British Museum, the Public Record Office, the Privy Council Office, and in the Law Officers' Department. To the Librarian at University College and to the members of his staff I am most grateful for their attention to my frequent and often troublesome requests. For various other aid I have to thank Dr. A. P. Green, the Rev. J. Cameron Taylor, Dr. W. T. Whitley, the Rev. H. Wheeler Robinson, Sir George Young, and Professor T. Fitzhugh of the University of Virginia.

Mrs. A. F. Pollard and Sir John Rose Bradford have been so good as to undertake for me the ungrateful task of reading the proofs.

I may add that while I have been solicitous, for the sake of other students, to give the authorities for what I have said, I have been careful to limit the notes strictly to a bare recital of the references, so that by the reader who is willing to take the statements upon trust they may be altogether ignored.

H. HALE BELLOT.

MANCHESTER,
15 *May*, 1929.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abstracts . . .	*University College, London. Abstracts of Council Minutes* (*cf. infra, p.* 434).
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Ann. Rept. . .	The *Annual Report* of the college (*cf. infra, pp.* 434–5); cited under the date of publication.
Bulletin . . .	*Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research.*
Cal. . . .	The college *Calendar* (*cf. infra, pp.* 435–6); cited under the date of publication.
Corres. . . .	The original correspondence preserved in the office and the library of the college.
D.N.B. . . .	*Dictionary of National Biography.*
Minutes . . .	The manuscript Minutes of the Proceedings of the Council.
Notes . . .	*Notes on the History of University College, London, with a Record of the Session* 1886–7. *Being the first volume of The University College Gazette*, 1887.
Notes and Materials .	*Notes and Materials for the History of University College, London. Faculties of Arts and Science.* [Edited by W. P. Ker], 1898.
P.R.O. . . .	Public Record Office.
Second Statement .	*Second Statement by the Council of the University of London, explanatory of the Plan of Instruction*, 1828.

Statement . .	*Statement by the Council of the University of London, explanatory of the Nature and Objects of the Institution*, 1827.
Statement, 1878 .	*University College, London. Statement of Present Requirements and Proposal for Completion of the Building*, 1878.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

Chart 1. *For* E. H. *read* L. H. Courtney.
„ 2. *Above the name* Wright *insert* Arabic and Persian.
„ 3. A. F. Murison. *For* 1884–5 *read* 1883–4.
„ 6. H. C. Bastian. *For* 1868–9 *read* 1867–8.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON
1826—1926

CHAPTER I

ANTECEDENTS

In the year 1820, Thomas Campbell went to Germany with the purpose of collecting materials for a general survey of European literature, which he proposed to write. In the course of his journey he visited Bonn, and renewed his acquaintance with A. W. von Schlegel, whom he had met at Paris in 1814. He was entranced by the beauties of the Rhine in the summer weather. He was delighted with the society of Bonn, if he sometimes found Schlegel a little tedious. He was struck by the mutual tolerance of protestant and catholic, and by the liberal treatment accorded to the Jews. It was in conversation with the professors of Bonn that he first conceived the idea of a London University.[1]

But the idea was no new one. Since the date of Gresham's foundation in the middle of the sixteenth century, and of the projects of Sir Humphrey Gilbert,[2] there had recurred from time to time the proposal to establish a university in the metropolis. It was made in the middle of the seventeenth century; it was glanced at by Cowley and repeated by Defoe; it was revived in 1823 by Elmes, the biographer of

[1] W. Beattie: *Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell*, 3 v., 1849, ii, 355.

[2] *A Brief Memoir of Sir Thomas Gresham; with an Abstract of his Will, and of the Act of Parliament for the Foundation and Government of Gresham College*, 1833; J. W. Burgon: *The Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham*, 2 v., [1839], ii, 515–27; Sir Humphrey Gilbert: *Queene Elizabethes Achademy*. E.E.T.S., Extra Series, No. viii, 1869.

Wren.[1] It is not to the novelty of the conception that the foundation of a university in 1826 can be attributed. It was because he spoke to a new world, and not because he preached a new gospel, that Campbell had more success than his forerunners.[2]

In order that the schemes of the closet philosopher might bear fruit, it was necessary that certain conditions precedent should be fulfilled. The proposal which fell upon deaf ears in 1728 was listened to a hundred years later because, meanwhile, a social revolution had created a demand, which in the old seats of higher learning could not be satisfied. The growth of physical science with all its consequences, upon the one hand, and the emergence, upon the other, of a new class, differing in its social standing, its religious opinions, and its economic interests, from that which had dominated the life of the nation during the earlier half of the eighteenth century, led men to reconsider their conception of education as well as their conceptions of law, of politics, and of economics. The history of the foundation of the University of London is thus but a paragraph in the story of that change in the intellectual, social, political, and economic structure of public life, which came about between the American revolution and the Reform Bill. Men felt, as Priestley put it, that "a different and a better furniture of mind [was] requisite to be brought into the business of life."[3] There was no workshop to their hand in which to fashion it. The suggestion that they should create one meant to them something which it could not have meant to their grandfathers.

[1] *Motives Grounded upon the Word of God, and upon Honour, Profit, and Pleasure, for the Founding an University in the Metropolis, London: with Answers to such Objections as might be made by any in their incogitancy against the same*, 1647; A. Cowley: *A Proposition for the Advancement of Experimental Philosophy*, 1661; D. Defoe: *Augusta Triumphans: or, the Way to make London the most flourishing City in the Universe*, [etc.], 1728; J. Elmes: *Memoirs of the Life and Works of Sir Christopher Wren*, 1823, 100.

[2] *Cf.* É. Halévy: *La formation du radicalisme philosophique*, 3 t., Paris, 1901–4, i, pp. xiii–xiv; A. E. Dobbs: *Education and Social Movements*, 1700–1850, 1919, vii–viii.

[3] J. Priestley: *Lectures on History and General Policy; to which is prefixed, An Essay on a Course of liberal Education for civil and active life*. Birmingham, 1788.

Education, James Yates remarked in 1827, was now sought "not merely by professional and speculative men, but by the manufacturing and commercial world." [1] And the manufacturing and commercial world found what it sought to be hard to come by.

"It seems to be a defect in our present system of public education," wrote Priestley in 1764, "that a proper course of studies is not provided for gentlemen who are designed to fill the principal stations of *active life*, distinct from those which are adapted to the *learned professions*. We have hardly any medium between an education for the counting-house, consisting of writing, arithmetic, and merchants'-accounts, and a method of institution in the abstract sciences: so that we have nothing liberal, that is worth the attention of *gentlemen*, whose views neither of these two opposite plans may suit." [2]

Sydney Smith, forty-six years later, but repeats with some exaggeration the same opinion.

"A learned man!—a scholar!—a man of erudition! Upon whom are these epithets of approbation bestowed? Are they given to men acquainted with the science of government? thoroughly masters of the geographical and commercial relations of Europe? to men who know the properties of bodies, and their action upon each other? No: this is not learning; it is chemistry, or political economy—not learning. The distinguishing abstract term, the epithet of Scholar, is reserved for him who writes on the Æolic reduplication, and is familiar with Sylburgius his method of arranging defectives in ω and μι. The picture which a young Englishman, addicted to the pursuit of knowledge, draws—his *beau ideal* of human nature—his top and consummation of man's powers—is a knowledge of the Greek language. His object is not to reason, to imagine, or to invent; but to conjugate, decline and derive. The situations of imaginary glory which he draws for himself, are the detection of an anapæst in the wrong place, or the restoration of a dative case which Cranzius had passed over, and the never dying Ernesti failed to observe. If a young classic of this kind were to meet the greatest chemist, or the greatest mathematician, or the most profound political

[1] J. Yates: *Thoughts on the Advancement of Academical Education in England*, 2nd ed., 1827, 72; *cf. A Letter to the Right Hon. Robert Peel on the Subject of the London University. By Christianus*, 1828, 2–3.

[2] J. Priestley: *Lectures on History and General Policy; to which is prefixed, An Essay on a Course of liberal Education for civil and active life.* Birmingham, 1788, xiii.

economist of his time, in company with the greatest Greek scholar, would the slightest comparison between them ever come across his mind?—Would he ever dream that such men as Adam Smith and Lavoisier were equal in dignity of understanding to, or of the same utility as, Bentley and Heyné? We are inclined to think that the feeling excited would be a good deal like that which was expressed by Dr. George about the praises of the great King of Prussia, who entertained considerable doubts whether the King, with all his victories, knew how to conjugate a Greek verb in *μι*." [1]

Such shortcomings provoked an attack upon the established universities, and attack led to controversy. The dispute was begun by the publication of articles by Playfair, Jeffrey, and Sydney Smith in the *Edinburgh Review* in 1808 and 1809, and it continued into the 'twenties.[2] Yet for the most part it did not go to the root of the matter. The offence of Oxford and of Cambridge was, not that they were extravagantly inefficient to that which they had set before themselves to do, but that to the signs of these new times they were blind.[3] The accounts of the decadence of the universities during the eighteenth century have been a good deal exaggerated. What those bodies professed to do they probably did more steadily, and better, than has commonly been allowed.[4] It is true that neither of the universities was abreast of recent work in the chosen field of its studies. The mathematicians of Cambridge were as slow to appreciate the work upon mathematical physics which was being done in France as the Oxford philologians to benefit by the critical labours of the Germans.[5]

[1] *The Edinburgh Review*, xv, 1810, 46–7.

[2] A. I. Tillyard: *A History of University Reform from* 1800 *A.D. to the Present Time*, Cambridge, 1913, c. ii.

[3] *Cf.* É. Halévy: *Histoire du peuple anglais au xixe siècle*, i, 3e éd., Paris, 1923, 517–24; L. Stephen: *The English Utilitarians*, 3 v., 1900, i, 43–50; C. E. Mallet: *A History of the University of Oxford*, 3 v., 1924–7, v. iii; J. Hoppus: *Thoughts on Academical Education*, 1837, 18–24.

[4] D. A. Winstanley: *The University of Cambridge in the Eighteenth Century*, Cambridge, 1922, especially 4–7, 23–5, 33; A. D. Godley: *Oxford in the Eighteenth Century*, 1908, especially 9, 17, 140–3, 213, 217; C. E. Mallet: *A History of the University of Oxford*, 3 v., 1924–7, iii, cc. xx–xxiii.

[5] É. Halévy: *Histoire du peuple anglais au xixe siècle*, i, 3e éd., Paris, 1923, 523; S. E. De Morgan: *Memoir of Augustus De Morgan*, 1882, 41.

"I satisfied myself at the English Universities," wrote an American sent over to engage professors for the University of Virginia, "that it was idle to seek at either a professor in natural philosophy." [1] But to intellectual advance there were no insuperable obstacles, and it had indeed begun. At Oxford there was a revival at the end of the eighteenth century, and the university made great strides when it established an effective system of examination in 1800.[2] Cambridge was already in many respects well organised, and Augustus De Morgan, for example, found in that university plenty of intellectual stimulus.[3] A matter of more moment was the fact that neither of the universities was quick to observe the tide of new forces which surged about it, and that each opposed to freedom of entry the bar of social and religious tests.

The English universities by the end of the eighteenth century had become the preserve of a section of the community. To be identified with the church and the land, which in 1700 was to be a national institution, was in 1800 to be the servant of a party, and, at that, of a party which was not much longer to remain in the ascendant; while the disappearance of the yeomen began, it has been observed, to turn the universities into finishing schools for the upper classes.[4] The consequence was a rise in the cost of university education which in itself was sufficient to restrict the opportunity to the nobility and the opulent gentry.[5]

To social exclusiveness must be added the still more serious bar of religious tests. At Oxford members were required on admission to subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles and to take

[1] W. P. Trent: *English Culture in Virginia. Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science* . . . 7th Series. Nos. v–vi, Baltimore, 1889, 80.

[2] A. D. Godley: *Oxford in the Eighteenth Century*, 1908, 180–1.

[3] S. E. De Morgan: *Memoir of Augustus De Morgan*, 1882, 15–6, 306; A. De Morgan: *Thoughts suggested by the Establishment of the University of London: An Introductory Lecture, delivered at the Opening of the Faculty of Arts, in University College, Oct.* 16, 1837, 30.

[4] A. D. Godley: *Oxford in the Eighteenth Century*, 1908, 120–1, 135, 223–4.

[5] W. P. Trent: *English Culture in Virginia. Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science* . . . 7th Series. Nos. v–vi, Baltimore, 1889, 69; *The Times*, 2 July, 1825, 3 a, 2 Nov., 1825, 3 a.

the Oath of Supremacy. On taking a degree this had to be repeated, with the addition of subscription to the three Articles of the Thirty-sixth Canon. At Cambridge admission was free, but in order to proceed to the degree of B.A., B.C.L., or B.M., a declaration was required in the form, "I, A. B. do declare that I am bonâ fide a Member of the Church of England," while for all other degrees it was necessary to subscribe to the three Articles of the Thirty-sixth Canon. In addition, by the Act of Uniformity it was required that no form of prayer, or administration of sacraments or ceremonies, should be used in either of the universities, unless in accord with the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England; and by the statutes of the University of Oxford members of the university were forbidden to have any communication with any society of dissidents from the doctrine or discipline of the Church of England, or to be present at any sermon or religious service except in places consecrated or licensed by the bishops. Jews, catholics, and protestant dissenters were thus effectively excluded, and Quakers were further troubled by the statutory obligation upon all graduates to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy.[1]

It was in consequence of these limitations that all the most vigorous intellectual life of the period was to be found outside the English universities. "*Il faut chercher*," writes M. Halévy, "*dans l'Angleterre dissidente, exclue des Universités, dans l'Angleterre industrielle, dans les nouveaux centres de population et de civilisation, les institutions où naît et s'organise la culture moderne, scientifique et positive.*" [2]

The intellectual activity which was denied scope at the

[1] *Tests required on entering the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge; Date of Imposition and Alterations*, H. of C., 562 of 1833, XXVII, 339; *Return from the Vice-Chancellors respecting the Articles of the Thirty-sixth Canon, as entered at the University*, H. of C., 751 of 1833, XXVII, 343; *Parecbolae sive Excerpta e Corpore Statutorum Universitatis Oxoniensis*, Oxford, 1808, Tit. xvi, § 12; *The English Universities. From the German of V. A. Huber . . . an abridged translation.* Edited by Francis W. Newman, 2 v., 1843, ii, 686–7.

[2] É. Halévy: *Histoire du peuple anglais au xixe siècle*, i, 3e éd., Paris, 1923, 532, 544; L. Stephen: *The English Utilitarians*, 3 v., 1900, i, 47–8, 61–3, 65–8.

universities found outlet in two directions—in such voluntary institutions as the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, the Birmingham Philosophical Society, and the Royal Institution, and in the Dissenting Academies.[1] The former became the channel for the communication of the scientific discoveries of men such as Dalton and Sir Humphry Davy. The latter, the first of them founded in the seventeenth century by the extruded ministers, became in the second half of the eighteenth century the scene of a remarkable intellectual revival, and the most famous of them, the Warrington Academy, which dated from 1757, had close affiliations with all that was most radical in the thought of the time. From either of these sources the modern university might have grown. But the host of private lecturers and the various literary and philosophical societies lacked a regular body of students, while the academies, under the influence of the Wesleyan movement and the reaction against the French Revolution, were transformed into sectarian training-colleges.[2] By 1820, therefore, there was a body of intellectual effort and experience, and a fund of unsatisfied intellectual aspiration, which furnished Campbell with a ready and appreciative audience, and to those who thus shared his aspirations and were responsive to his appeal, what was being done in the universities of Scotland, Germany, and the United States afforded an example, while in the Utilitarians and the younger among the Whigs they found a party and a leader.

Scotland in the eighteenth century was the scene of an intellectual renascence.[3] An economic revival was reflected

[1] É. Halévy: *Histoire du peuple anglais au xixe siècle*, i, 3e éd., Paris, 1923, 532–44; I. Parker: *Dissenting Academies in England. Their Rise and Progress and their Place among the Educational Systems of the Country*, Cambridge, 1914; T. Turton: *Thoughts on the admission of persons without regard to their religious opinions to certain Degrees in the Universities of England. A Review of the principal Dissenting Colleges in England during the last century*, 2nd ed., Cambridge, 1835; J. Yates: *Thoughts on the Advancement of Academical Education in England*, 2nd ed., 1827, 55–9.

[2] É. Halévy: *Histoire du peuple anglais au xixe siècle*, i, 3e éd., Paris, 1923, 395; *cf.* I. Parker: *Dissenting Academies in England . . .* Cambridge, 1914.

[3] W. L. Mathieson: *The Awakening of Scotland. A History from* 1747 *to* 1797, Glasgow, 1910; H. G. Graham: *Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth*

in a renewal of academic activity, which was marked by the appointment of Francis Hutcheson to the chair of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow in 1730, and which culminated in the work done by Dugald Stewart and Playfair at Edinburgh between 1775 and 1819. For close on a century Scotland held the palm for intellectual vigour. To the roll of learning it added, beside the names of Hutcheson, Stewart, and Playfair, those of Adam Smith, Thomas Reid, David Hume, Joseph Black, Thomas Brown, and William Robertson. In Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Aberdeen there flourished a vital and original school of philosophic thought. In the lecture-rooms and laboratories of the Scottish universities was to be found the best medical education, and in the work of the Scottish medical professors must be sought the beginnings of what have since become the great scientific departments of the modern universities. During the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, Edinburgh became the Mecca of the most active among the younger men. It will be seen that the strongest single intellectual influence in the new foundation in London was that of Edinburgh, and from the example of the Scottish universities London drew many of its most distinctive features. The extended range of the subjects of university study, the lecture system, the non-residence of the students, their admission to single courses, the absence of religious tests, the dependence of the professors upon fees, and the democratic character of the institution, were all deliberate imitations of Scottish practice.

To this must be added the influence of Germany and of the United States.

There was a revival of university life in Germany contemporary with the stirring of the new ideas in England, which found expression in the establishment of the universities of Berlin in 1809 and of Bonn in 1818, and the reorganisation of the older schools at Breslau in 1811 and at Munich in 1826.[1]

Century, 2 v., 1899; *Scottish Men of Letters in the Eighteenth Century*, 1908; É. Halévy: *Histoire du peuple anglais au xixe siècle*, i, 3e éd., Paris, 1923, 512–7; L. Stephen: *The English Utilitarians*, 3 v., 1900, i, 142–68.

[1] F. Paulsen: *The German Universities and University Study*. Translated by F. Thilly and W. W. Elwang, 1906, 51–5.

The direct influence of Bonn has been observed. In 1825 Campbell visited Berlin expressly to study the organisation of the new university.[1] In 1827 his example was followed by Isaac Lyon Goldsmid,[2] while Austin established himself at Bonn in the same year to prepare himself for his duties as professor of Jurisprudence, and to study German university methods.[3] The influence of Germany reinforced that of Scotland in securing preference for the professorial to the tutorial system, encouraged the toleration of religious variety, and assured contact with the products of continental scholarship.

In America a striking parallel to events in England is afforded by the foundation of the University of Virginia. The establishment of this seat of higher education was the work of Thomas Jefferson. Always interested in education and long active in the educational politics of his state, Jefferson was trustee of a college, first called the Albemarle Academy, but transformed into the Central College, elevated from the rank of a county to that of a state institution, and located at Charlottesville in 1817. In 1818 he was successful in obtaining from the state legislature an act securing appropriations for the support of elementary schools and providing for the establishment of a university. Under the act a commission was appointed, of which Jefferson and James Madison were members, to choose a site for the new university, plan a building, and report a scheme for the organisation and government of the institution. The commission met at Rockfish Gap in the Blue Ridge in August, 1818, and reported in favour of Charlottesville. In 1819, their recommendations were adopted by the legislature, and the University of Virginia was established. To the student of the history of the University of London the matter of interest is the doctrine embodied in the *Rockfish Gap Report*.[4] The *Report* was mainly, if not entirely, the work of Jefferson. It has been said that it is

[1] W. Beattie: *Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell*, 3 v., 1849, ii, 443–51.

[2] Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 27,824, f. 301.

[3] J. Austin: *Lectures on Jurisprudence* . . . 2 v., 3rd ed., 1869, i, 5–6.

[4] *Early History of the University of Virginia, as contained in the Letters of Thomas Jefferson and Joseph C. Cabell*, Richmond, Va., 1856, 432–47.

"perhaps the most pregnant and suggestive document of its kind that has been issued in the history of American Education."[1] It defined the higher branches of education as those which are,

"To form the statesmen, legislators and judges, on whom public prosperity and individual happiness are so much to depend ;

To expound the principles and structure of government, the laws which regulate the intercourse of nations, those formed municipally for our own government, and a sound spirit of legislation, which, banishing all arbitrary and unnecessary restraint on individual action, shall leave us free to do whatever does not violate the equal rights of another ;

To harmonize and promote the interests of agriculture, manufactures and commerce, and by well informed views of political economy to give a free scope to the public industry ;

To develope the reasoning faculties of our youth, enlarge their minds, cultivate their morals, and instil into them the precepts of virtue and order ;

To enlighten them with mathematical and physical sciences, which advance the arts, and administer to the health, the subsistence, and comforts of human life ;

And, generally, to form them to habits of reflection and correct action, rendering them examples of virtue to others, and of happiness within themselves."[2]

To these ends it proposed a university modern in the catholicity of its studies, which were to include physical science, medicine, modern languages, law, politics, economics, and history ; which was to be organised upon the professorial system ; wherein instruction was to be given by lectures ; where there was to be no inflexible curriculum, but where the student should be free to attend the courses of his choice ; and where all sects of religion should be on an equal footing, and every sect should be left to provide, as it thought fittest, the means of further instruction in its own peculiar tenets.

The *Rockfish Gap Report* became known in England in

[1] P. A. Bruce : *History of the University of Virginia*, 1819–1919, 5 v., N.Y., 1920–2, i, 222.

[2] *Early History of the University of Virginia, as contained in the Letters of Thomas Jefferson and Joseph C. Cabell*, Richmond, Va., 1856, 435.

1824.[1] It affords the closest parallel to the ideals of those educational reformers in England of whom by 1820 Brougham had become the leader.

Brougham's interest in education being aroused in 1810 by an appeal for his aid in the conduct of the Royal Lancasterian Association, which became in 1814 the British and Foreign School Society, he first devoted himself to the cause of elementary education, and procured the appointment of a select committee on the Education of the Lower Orders in the Metropolis in 1816, which was succeeded in 1818 by a committee empowered to extend its enquiries over the whole of the United Kingdom. To the same end he secured in 1819 the appointment of a royal commission to enquire into charities for the education of the poor, and in 1820 introduced a bill for the establishment of a system of elementary education, which was, however, defeated by the opposition of the Dissenters; and at the same time he interested himself in promoting the establishment of infant schools. By these activities he was led to take an interest in adult education. He was exceedingly averse to the control of higher education by the state, and he became zealous to promote every kind of voluntary organisation. He saw two great obstacles to the better education of the bulk of the population, which were want of time and want of money, and the problem as it presented itself to him was one of reducing the cost and adapting the means of communicating knowledge to the minds and circumstances of those with but few hours to spare and little previous intellectual training. Of this problem he sought the solution in the dissemination of cheap and specially written literature and in the encouragement of popular lectures. His instruments were the movement for the establishment of Mechanics' Institutions, with which he became closely associated in 1823, and the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, founded in 1826.[2]

[1] W. P. Trent: *English Culture in Virginia. Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science* . . . 7th Series. Nos. v–vi, Baltimore, 1889, 60–1.

[2] A. M. Gilbert: *The Work of Lord Brougham for Education in England*, Chambersburg, Pa., 1922; *cf. The Edinburgh Review*, xli, 1825, 96–122; H.

Out of these activities there grew a habit of co-operation in the development of educational policy among a number of the men who were subsequently to share in the foundation of London University. They drew their inspiration in part from the University of Edinburgh and the traditions of Scotland, in part from that liberal movement of which Priestley is a representative, and in part from the teaching of Jeremy Bentham.

The interest of the disciples of Bentham in education was first keenly aroused by the monitorial system devised by Bell and Lancaster and by the controversy to which the rival claims of those two gave rise. The method was peculiarly congenial to the cast of their mind. They hailed, it has been observed, almost as though it were a scientific discovery, a system of education which, by the simple device of setting the children to teach one another was, while it secured a maximum of activity upon the part of the pupils, automatic, cheap, and capable of multiplying itself without end. They founded in 1813 the West London Lancasterian Association, and they sought in 1814 to extend the benefits of the system to the middle classes by the establishment of a school. Neither venture was successful. But the latter led Bentham to write those papers first published in 1815, which he entitled *Chrestomathia*.[1] The fact that the project to which they relate was no more than what we should now call a secondary day-school, and that, although it was not relinquished until 1820, it never came to anything, must not be allowed to obscure their significance in the history of the university. If the enthusiastic championship of the "Scholar-Teacher employment maximising principle," or the "Place-capturing, or Extempore degradation and promotion principle" is irrelevant to the problems of higher education, the plan for a Chrestomathic school in other respects was a forecast of the University of London. The school was to serve the middle

Brougham: *Practical observations upon the education of the people, addressed to the working classes and their employers*, 1825.

[1] *Chrestomathia: being a collection of papers, explanatory of the design of an institution proposed to be set on foot under the name of the Chrestomathic Day School*, 1815.

classes. It was to be launched by a body of shareholders in a joint-stock company. It was to be cheap and in the end self-supporting. By virtue of being non-residential it was to be free from the embarrassing obligation to provide religious teaching. It was to attend to useful and not merely to ornamental instruction. And it was therefore to educate its pupils in a great variety of subjects not at that date commonly recognised as part even of a university curriculum. In spite of the strange jargon with which it is hedged about, no reader of the *Chrestomathia* can fail to perceive in it a gleam of extraordinary freshness.

CHAPTER II[1]

FOUNDATION

i. Origin

The idea which occurred to Campbell at Bonn in June or July, 1820, was not proposed to the public until February, 1825, and was not realised until October, 1828. During these eight years and three months, what was at first but the dream of a fertile but often fickle mind grew to be a matter of public concern.

On his return to England at the end of November, 1820, Campbell began work upon a fresh literary venture, *The New Monthly Magazine*, which he had undertaken for the publisher Colburn on the eve of his departure for the Continent.[2] In order to carry out his new duties he forsook what was then the quiet of village life at Sydenham and became thenceforth a Londoner. He was notoriously incapable of continuous and methodical application,[3] and Cyrus Redding was associated with him as sub-editor.

It was among the contributors to *The New Monthly Magazine* that the project of a university was first ventilated. "As early as 1821, among his more intimate friends," wrote Redding, "he had discussed the subject. He had spoken of it repeatedly, and with zeal, in a small club of literary men, about a dozen in number, who met weekly at Mr. Colburn's house in Conduit Street."[4] Who these were we do not precisely know.

By the summer of 1824, the project had been widely

[1] *Cf.* App. I, B.

[2] W. Beattie: *Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell*, 3 v., 1849, ii, 357, 392.

[3] *Cf.* S. C. Hall: *Retrospect of a Long Life*, 2 v., 1883, i, 314.

[4] C. Redding: *Life and Reminiscences of Thomas Campbell*, in *The New Monthly Magazine and Humorist*, 1847, pt. ii, 314; Beattie, *op. cit.*, ii, 438; iii, 429–30.

canvassed, and Campbell began to feel confident that it was practicable. Francis Place and Cyrus Redding are agreed upon the date. "In the month of June last," wrote Place in February, 1825, "he said he had well considered the advantages which would result from an University that he had carefully examined several German Universities, was well acquainted with the Scotch Universities and Colleges was convinced that education could be provided at a small expense in a London University and he was resolved to bring his scheme before the public. From this time I made it my especial business to repeat what Campbell had said to every one I saw who was at all likely to take an interest in good teaching, and many were the conversations I had with influential men, the substance of which I freely communicated to Campbell."[1] "Delayed from time to time," wrote Redding, "but never laid aside, the project had been revived by him during the latter half of the year 1824, when he began to think seriously of carrying such an institution into effect."[2]

At this juncture encouragement came from an unexpected quarter. On realising his inability to secure Americans of first-rate reputation, Jefferson decided to draw from Europe the professoriate for the new University of Virginia. He at first thought to do this through the American minister, Rush, but ultimately persuaded the Board of Visitors to send a special mission. For this task Francis W. Gilmer was chosen in April, 1824. Gilmer was a young Virginian lawyer of thirty-three, of many parts and wide interests, an intimate friend of the Abbé Corréa, a keen botanist, a man of literary culture and some attainment in classical scholarship, and known as the author of a book on usury in which he had criticised Bentham and his school, but with poor health, and a little too talented to be able successfully to concentrate his efforts. He arrived in London in June, visited Cambridge, Oxford, and Edinburgh, and was back again in London from the end of August until the beginning of October, when he returned to the States. He met, among others,

[1] Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 27,823, f. 417.

[2] C. Redding, *op. cit.*, 314.

Brougham, Mackintosh, Parr, Cartwright, Bentham, Leslie, Leonard Horner, Birkbeck, and Campbell. He was introduced by Praed at Cambridge to T. H. Key, and subsequently by him to George Long. He got little help from Brougham or Mackintosh. Doctor Parr supplied him with lists of books. Leslie and Birkbeck gave him the most practical assistance. In Campbell he found the keenest sympathy. He engaged as professors for the new university four Englishmen, T. H. Key, George Long, R. Dunglison, and Charles Bonnycastle, and one German, Dr. Blaettermann.[1] Long called on Campbell before he left for the States.[2] Copies of the *Rockfish Gap Report*[3] were sent to Gilmer for distribution[4] and the *Report* is cited by James Yates.[5]

Campbell was predisposed to be interested in Virginia. His father had been in the Virginia trade and had visited the States as a young man, and it was in the American War that the fortunes of the family had gone down. His eldest brother was living in Richmond, and another had married a daughter of Patrick Henry.[6] What accident put in his way his mind was ready to receive. It has already been suggested that the foundation of the University of Virginia was but one manifestation of an intellectual change which was at work in the world at large and showed itself in many places. Here in the person of Gilmer was a fellow in the new faith, and, what was more, a witness to the practicability of what men said was but a dream. That which was done at Charlottesville could surely be done in London.

[1] H. B. Adams: *Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia. U.S. Bureau of Education, Circular of Information No. 1, Contributions to American Educational History* . . . No. 2, Washington, 1888, 110–8; W. P. Trent: *English Culture in Virginia. Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science* . . . 7th Series. Nos. v–vi, Baltimore, 1889, 55–114; P. A. Bruce: *History of the University of Virginia* 1819–1919 . . . , 5 v., N.Y., 1920–2, i, 339–76.

[2] *Letters of George Long.* Edited by T. Fitzhugh, Univ. of Va., 1917, 21.

[3] *Early History of the University of Virginia, as contained in the Letters of Thomas Jefferson and Joseph C. Cabell*, Richmond, Va., 1856, 432–47; *cf.* 519–22.

[4] W. P. Trent, *op. cit.*, 60–1.

[5] J. Yates: *Thoughts on the Advancement of Academical Education in England*, 2nd ed., 1827, 44–5, 145.

[6] W. Beattie: *Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell*, 3 v., 1849, i, 7–9, 23, 25.

The first man who proved both able and willing to give practical assistance to Campbell was Isaac Lyon Goldsmid.[1] He was a man of just on forty-seven. His family was of German origin, but was closely connected with the Spanish Jews, who then formed the aristocracy of their race in England. A keen student of literature, metaphysics, political science, and political economy, he had become a member of the Stock Exchange and a partner in the great firm of bullion-brokers of Mocatta and Goldsmid, directed by his two uncles. The firm year after year contracted for the government loans, but found itself first threatened by the competition of the elder Rothschild, and then ruined by the panic which followed Napoleon's escape from Elba. His uncles committed suicide, and Isaac Lyon Goldsmid, as a man of thirty-six, was left to bear the burden of the family calamities. Out of the wreckage in due time he built up a great fortune, and in 1824 was already a man of substance, and was becoming deeply interested in South American finance, a field in which he was to secure one of his greatest successes in the settlement of the debt due by Brazil to Portugal. He was closely associated with the Utilitarians, and particularly with Ricardo. He had taken an active part in the movement for negro emancipation, and being brought by that into association with members of the Society of Friends, had been led to the support of Lancaster's educational experiments and Mrs. Fry's work in the prisons, and by the latter to an interest in criminal law reform. He welcomed Campbell's plan of a university free from religious tests, introduced him to Brougham, and enlisted Hume, Warburton, and others in support of the scheme.[2]

The development of Mechanics' Institutes had suggested "that to teach your bricklayer, your carpenter, and your labourer, to reason and argue on principles of science, while you who employed them, remained ignorant of those subjects of improvement, would be not only the most absurd, but the most mischievous thing that could be done," and Brougham had "mentioned this to the members of the Mechanics'

[1] *D.N.B.*

[2] *Memoir of Sir Francis Henry Goldsmid . . .*, 2nd ed., 1882, 18.

Institution themselves," and had discussed it with John Smith.[1] He was thus prepared, as Campbell recognised,[2] to be interested in the project. But the fact that it was not altogether new to him led later to some mutual discontent. Birkbeck went so far as to claim that the Mechanics' Institution was the parent of the university,[3] and, although this would be hard to sustain, to apportion the credit for the foundation between the two men now brought together is not easy. Brougham proved to be very well able to look after himself, and Campbell and his friends soon came to feel that they had a grievance.[4] In the course of the controversy Place sent to Campbell in September, 1827, for insertion in *The New Monthly Magazine*, an article on the "Origin, Progress and Present State of the University of London," [5] which Campbell, from a feeling of delicacy, refused to publish, and, earlier in the year, in February, a paper entitled, "The substance of notes which I made when the proposal for an University of London was first countenanced by Mr. Campbell's friends." [6] There remains among his papers a copy of those notes which gives a slightly different, more precise, and more strictly contemporary version of the events which followed Campbell's introduction to Brougham and his circle. It is in these notes that the story is continued.

"Saturday 12 Feby.—1825.

. . . The establishment of an University in or near London has for a considerable time past been a favourite object of Campbell's, he has talked to me of his project to cause one to be established, on several occasions during the last three years, in this I concurred most cordially. His plan was to obtain subscribers and form a joint stock company, and he persuaded himself that among the subscribers there would be a large

[1] *The Courier*, 2 July, 1825, 3 b; *The Morning Chronicle*, 2 July, 1825, 2 b; *The London Mechanics' Register*, ii, 168–9 (9 July, 1825).

[2] *The Times*, 9 Feb., 1825, 4 a, b.

[3] G. G. Ward: *An Essay on the Lever . . .*, 1829, iv; *Mechanics' Magazine*, xi, 1829, 79–80, 124–5, 441–3.

[4] *Cf. The Morning Chronicle*, 1 May, 1827, 3 e; 7 May, 1827, 2 e.

[5] Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 27,824, f. 301.

[6] W. Beattie: *Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell*, 3 v., 1849, ii, 438–9; Campbell to Spring Rice, 18 Apr. 1838, in *Nineteenth Century and After*, xcvii, 1925, 34; Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 27,824, f. 255; *cf.* Add. MS. 27,823, f. 419.

number of tradesmen. To me it appeared unlikely that many tradesmen would subscribe or that it would be possible to obtain money enough in any way to erect and establish an University, and so I repeatedly told him.

. . . . . .

. . . On the 29th of January last he urged the matter very strongly upon me, and I had a long conversation with Mill respecting it. Mill discountenanced it, as he thought it was unattainable. On the following day Brougham gave a calves head dinner, among others who dined there were Lord King—Joseph Hume—Thomas Campbell and James Mill. After dinner Campbell's project was talked of and as I am informed Campbell said something about me as a cooperator, and was countenanced in his project by the whole company, every one of whom had probably heard of it before, when I saw Campbell the next day he appeared to calculate on the support of all who were present at Brougham's dinner.

These circumstances induced Campbell to write his letter to Brougham, and send a copy of it to the Times newspaper on the 8th of Feby. It appeared the next day.

The insertion of the letter brought Hume to me. He was surprised to hear that Mr. Mill had not spoken to me on the subject as he came fully prepared to hear of some arrangement being made to carry Campbell's project into effect. He said there is another dinner on Monday next at Mr. John Smiths where he hoped the matter would be arranged. Mill and Brougham and Campbell were to be there, and I he concluded had also been invited. I said I had not been invited and had no expectation that I should be invited. He was displeased at this, and said, 'if you and Campbell will draw up an outline of a plan I will procure subscribers to the amount of £100,000.' I said I will not take your promise as perhaps you have not well considered the matter, I will give you 'till tomorrow and in the mean time will see Campbell on the subject, he said 'no I will not take any time. I will do as I have said.' I promised that a plan should be drawn up

Feby. 13.

Campbell called yesterday when I was from home. He has been here, just now, has heard from me what passed with Mr. Hume yesterday, and has undertaken to compose such a paper as Hume suggested. He pressed me to dine to-morrow at Mr. Smith's, but not having been invited I cannot go there." [1]

[1] Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 27,823, ff. 417–9.

Such were the circumstances of the appearance in *The Times*[1] of Campbell's letter to Brougham. Its publication was followed by private meetings at which Brougham was present, when questions relating to the undertaking were discussed,[2] and, on the 1st of April, Campbell inserted in *The New Monthly Magazine* his *Suggestions respecting a Plan of an University in London*, to be continued in the July number.[3] The *Letter* and the first instalment of the *Suggestions* were republished as a pamphlet.[4]

In bringing Campbell into touch with Brougham, Goldsmid had, however, done more than secure the interest of a leading politician and of George Birkbeck and the promoters of the Mechanics' Institution.[5] Brougham brought to the support of the scheme not only himself and Birkbeck, but also the Dissenters.

The Whigs were nearing the end of their long exile, and the political situation was critical. The most potent factor in their exclusion from office had been their advocacy of catholic emancipation.[6] The formation of the Catholic Association had now once more forced that question to the front, and the Protestant vote was one of the most anxious problems in political arithmetic.[7]

At the same time the Dissenters had on foot a project to establish a new university. David Bogue had made the proposal as early as 1812. "The establishment of a university,"

[1] *The Times*, 9 Feb., 1825, 4 a–b.

[2] Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 27,823, f. 395.

[3] *The New Monthly Magazine*, n.s. xiii, 1825, 404–19; xiv, 1825, 1–11; *cf. The Times*, 1 July, 1825, 3 e.

[4] *Reprint of Mr. Campbell's Letter to Mr. Brougham, on the Subject of a London University, which appeared in "The Times" of Feb. 9, together with Suggestions which appeared in the April number of the New Monthly Magazine.* London: printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, Paternoster Row, 1825.

[5] *D.N.B.*; J. G. Godard: *George Birkbeck . . . A Memoir and a Review*, 1884; C. D. Burns: *A Short History of Birkbeck College*, 1924.

[6] *Cf.* É. Halévy: *Histoire du peuple anglais au xixe siècle*, 3e ed., Paris, 1923, i, 178.

[7] *Sir Robert Peel from his Private Papers.* Edited by C. S. Parker, 3 v., 1899, 376–7; C. Redding: *Life and Reminiscences of Thomas Campbell*, in *The New Monthly Magazine and Humorist*, 1847, pt. ii, 315.

he wrote, "to which students from the seminaries of the various denominations may resort, to perfect their education, has occupied the attention of dissenters." Oxford and Cambridge were closed to them.

"The dissenting academies allow only a certain number of years for education, in most of them but three or four, and when a student has arrived at the close of his term, he must retire to make room for others, though he may have only just learned to aspire after higher acquisitions. The lectures of the tutors are very properly adapted to the great majority, and not to the superior minds which are constantly found in the seminaries. It is true the universities of Scotland are accessible, and a few English dissenters are usually found attending the lectures of the northern professors; but the distance is great, and to those who have no connections beyond the Tweed, appears formidable; while other considerations prevent many from resorting to those seats of learning. Were an institution established in a central part of England, upon a liberal plan, open to all denominations, Christians or Jews, and were the incomes of the professors to arise, like those of Scotland, in great measure from the students, whom their celebrity would attract, it would find sufficient support. . . ." [1]

At a later date Bogue circulated a plan for a Dissenting University.[2] The project took shape in the autumn of 1824. Some of the ministers and some men of fortune, belonging to the sect of Baptists, several of them members of the congregation at Hackney, which had for its minister the Rev. F. A. Cox,[3] held a series of meetings to consider the expediency of forming a college for young men of their own persuasion, and issued a printed circular. Objections were raised that their plan did not comprehend Independents, Scotch Presbyterians residing in England, Methodists, and other Dissenters. A prospectus, in which it was sought to allay these objections,

[1] D. Bogue and J. Bennett: *History of the Dissenters from the Revolution in* 1688, *to the year* 1808, 4 v., 1808–1812, iv, 308–10.

[2] J. Bennett: *The History of the Dissenters during the Last Thirty Years (from* 1808 *to* 1838), 1839, 84–5.

[3] *D.N.B.*; *Chronicles of the Baptist Church at Mare Street, Hackney*, 1798–1898. Compiled and edited by John E. Bennett . . . Printed and published for the Deacons of the Church by the Baptist Tract and Book Society . . . 1898, 37–73.

was drawn up by Dr. F. A. Cox and circulated. But the project remained a sectional one, and all the members of the committee formed to carry it into effect were Baptists or Pedo-Baptists.[1] The circulation of the plan, limited as it was, led nevertheless to discussion. The scheme was broadened. The Provisional Committee, appointed at a meeting held at the King's Head Tavern, in the Poultry,[2] in April, 1825, had power to add to its numbers,[3] and became more variously representative.[4] It was suggested that the solution was a foundation for lay studies only,[5] and attention was naturally attracted to what was being done by Campbell and Brougham. After some discussion the Committee appointed a deputation of seven to solicit an interview with Campbell, Brougham, and their supporters. These seven were Henry Waymouth, Thomas Wilson, Benjamin Shaw, the Rev. Edw. Irving, the Rev. W. Orme, the Rev. W. Manuel, and the Rev. F. A. Cox.[6] A number of conferences were held, chiefly at Brougham's chambers.[7]

At the first conference, wrote Campbell on April 30th :

" it was decided that there should be *Theological* chairs, partly Church of England and partly Presbyterian. I had instructed all friends of the University to resist any attempt to make us a Theological body ; but Brougham, Hume, and John Smith came away from the first meeting, saying :—' We think with you, that the introduction of Divinity will be mischievous ; but we must yield to the Dissenters with Irving at their head. We must have a *theological* college.' I immediately waited on the Church of England Men, who had already subscribed to the number of a hundred, and said to them ;—' You see our paction is broken : I induced you to subscribe, on the faith that no ecclesiastical

[1] *The Mechanics' Magazine*, xi, 1829, 441–2 ; *Congregational Magazine*, n.s. i, 1825, 221, 247 ; *The Spirit and Manners of the Age*, 1827, 66 ; *Notes*, 11 ; *cf. The Morning Chronicle*, 21 Jan., 1825, 1 b.

[2] *Cf.* S. J. Price : *The Centenary of the Baptist Building Fund* in *The Baptist Quarterly incorporating the Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society*, n.s. iii, No. 2, 1926, 81–3.

[3] *Notes*, 11.

[4] *The Spirit and Manners of the Age*, 1827, 66.

[5] *Congregational Magazine*, n.s. i, 1825, 248.

[6] *The Spirit and Manners of the Age*, 1827, 66.

[7] *Ibid.* ; *Memoir of . . . Thomas Wilson*, 1846, 431–2.

interest, English or Scotch, should predominate in our scheme ; but the Dissenters are rushing in—what do you say ?' They—that is, the Church of England friends of the scheme—concerted that I should go, commissioned from them, to say at the conference, that either the Church of England must predominate, or else there must be no church influence." [1]

Each of the protagonists has left us his version of what took place.

"I debated the matter with the Dissenters," wrote Campbell, continuing the letter just quoted. "Brougham, Hume, and John Smith, who had before deserted me, changed sides, and came over to me. Irving and his party stoutly opposed me ; but I succeeded, at last, in gaining a complete victory. . . . The Dissenters themselves, I must say, behaved with extreme candour ; they would not even suffer me to conclude my reply to Mr. Irving, but exclaimed, 'Enough, enough. We are convinced, and concede the point, that the University shall be without religious rivalship.' The scene concluded amicably : Lord Althorp appeared on the part of the Church, and coincided in the decision. . . . You cannot conceive what anxiety I have undergone, whilst I imagined that the whole beautiful project was likely to be reduced to a mere Dissenters' University ! But I have no more reason to be dissatisfied with the Dissenters, than with the hundred Church of England subscribers, whose interests I have done my best to support. *I regard this as an eventful day in my life.*" [2]

Irving told his version to Carlyle at Annan in October.

"Told us (probably in answer to some question of mine) that the Projected 'London University' . . . seemed to be progressing towards fulfillment ; and how, at some meeting, Poet Campbell arguing loudly for a purely *Secular* System, had, on sight of Irving entering, at once stopt short, and, in the politest way he could, sat down without another word on the subject. 'It will be *un*religious, secretly anti-religious, all the same,' said Irving to us." [3]

[1] W. Beattie : *Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell*, 3 v., 1849, ii, 440 ; *Memoir of . . . Thomas Wilson*, 1846, *loc. cit.*

[2] W. Beattie, *op. cit.*, ii, 440–1.

[3] T. Carlyle : *Reminiscences*. Edited by J. A. Froude, 2 v., 1881, i, 293 ; *The Love Letters of Thomas Carlyle and Jane Welsh*. Edited by Alexander Carlyle, 2 v., 1909, ii, 176–7.

There is an echo of the conflict in a letter from Brougham to the Duke of Norfolk in August.

"I am most anxious, and therefore very busy in forming a large and powerful body of our friends who may serve as a counterpoise at once to the High Church men and the too sour and zealous part of the Dissenters. These last are a great bulwark against the former class, but they are far from being wholly free from defects, and they require to be well looked after." [1]

On the 26th of April, the Provisional Committee was summoned to meet at the King's Head Tavern to receive the deputation's report.[2] Apparently it was satisfied. Its separate scheme was relinquished, and it joined forces with Brougham and Campbell.[3]

The adherence of the Dissenters was important. In the metropolitan area they were well organised, both in the body known as the Protestant Dissenting Ministers of the Three Denominations in and about the cities of London and Westminster, formed in 1727, and also in a lay body established in 1734, the Protestant Dissenting Deputies for the several congregations of Protestant Dissenters in and within twelve miles of London.[4] Besides organisation, they had the experience which they had gained in the Dissenting academies, and the *Thoughts on the Advancement of Academical Education in England*, published by James Yates in 1825, is a much fuller, a much more systematic, and a much better founded discussion of the problem than anything put forth by Campbell or any of his associates.

The meeting on the 26th of April, 1825, may be said to close the preliminary stage. The religious controversy was by no means at an end, but the various contributory streams were now gathered together into one channel, however ill they might mix, and the general character of the university was determined.

[1] *Hist. MSS. Com., Report on Manuscripts in Various Collections*, ii [Cd. 932], 1903, 345.

[2] *Notes*, 11.

[3] *The Mechanics' Magazine*, xi, 1829, 442; *Cal.*, 1831, iv–v.

[4] *Congregational Magazine*, n.s. v, 1829, 229–30; *cf.* 172.

Before continuing the story, however, something must be said about the part played by two men whose names have so far been omitted, and who have commonly been associated with the foundation of the university, Jeremy Bentham and William Frend.

Bentham was by 1824 an old man whose most important work had long been accomplished. The story of the foundation may be traced in some detail, but of his participation there are few traces. He was a proprietor, and he nominated a candidate for the Council in 1828,[1] who was not elected. There is among the Bentham MSS. preserved in the college a single folio, not in his handwriting, but probably in that of Bowring, and attributed to about the year 1831, which contains a few jottings upon the composition of the Council and a query whether it would not be well "to throw out some of the saints who are doing so much mischief."[2] He left part of his library to the university,[3] and his skeleton, clad in the clothes which he wore to within a few days of his death, came to the college from Southwood Smith when the latter left his consulting-room in Finsbury Square.[4] When so much is known about the work of others, evidence so meagre does not allow of the ascription to Bentham of a conspicuous part. There is a tradition that he participated in the preliminary meetings at which the project was first discussed, and doubtless it was often the subject of conversation in Queen's Square. The intellectual debt of the university to him and the close association with him of some of the most prominent among the promoters is beyond dispute. Yet the immediate source of Benthamite influence was not the master himself but his disciple James Mill.

For William Frend his daughter, Mrs. De Morgan, claimed priority in the conception of a London University. The claim is based on some letters over the signature of "Civis" published in a monthly periodical edited by Thelwall. Mrs. De Morgan dated them somewhere about 1819, but she

[1] Corres., No. 621. [2] Bentham MSS., portfolio 107.

[3] *Ann. Rept.*, 1833, 7; 1834, 15.

[4] *D.N.B. s.v.*, T. Southwood Smith; W. Munk: *The Roll of the Royal College of Physicians of London*, 2nd ed., 3 v., 1878, iii, 237 n.

was unable to find a copy of the periodical.[1] A series of articles on *The London University* by Civis appears in *The Panoramic Miscellany*, edited by Thelwall, in 1826.[2]

ii. Public Measures

It was now time to proceed to business. A meeting was called for the 4th of June at the Crown and Anchor Tavern. There were about 120 present, and Brougham was in the chair. It was not, he explained, a public meeting, but rather "a medium of communicating to the very intelligent persons by whom he was surrounded such information as he had the power of giving. . . . It was fresh in their recollection, that many gentlemen of great weight and influence in society had called the public attention to the necessity of establishing for the great population of this metropolis a college. . . . Many private meetings of the gentlemen concerned in the new plan had taken place in his chambers [8, Old Square, Lincoln's Inn], and among those who had cooperated to promote the great object, one gentleman present, Mr. Thomas Campbell, had been most active." He then explained the scheme and reported the steps which had been taken in Parliament and the substance of his own speech on the previous day, to an account of which we must return later, and added, "that nothing more was intended at the present meeting, than after reducing [the] outline into something like a written form, to appoint a committee to revise and consider it." Cox then read the plan as generally described by Brougham, its details were discussed, and a committee of thirty-five was appointed.[3]

The committee met twice during the month,[4] and the first public meeting was called for the 1st of July at the City of London Tavern.[5] It was summoned for one o'clock; the

[1] S. E. De Morgan: *Memoir of Augustus De Morgan*, 1882, 22–3.

[2] *The Panoramic Miscellany*, 1826, 32–6, 201–4, 370–2, 504–7, 654–7.

[3] *The Times*, 6 June, 1825, 4 a; *cf. The Times*, 9 and 11 June, 1825, 2 e and 3 c.

[4] Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 27,824, f. 299.

[5] *The Times*, 2 July, 1825, 3 a–c; *The Morning Chronicle*, 2 July, 1825, 4 a–e; *The Courier*, 2 July, 1825, 3 b–d; C. Redding: *Fifty Years' Recollections*, 3 v., 2nd ed., 1858, ii, 322–3.

weather was very hot; the meeting was very crowded; it "is said to have been one of the most numerous, possibly the most numerous, ever assembled in the city of London." [1] "There were several elegantly dressed females among the assemblage." The Lord Mayor, who was to preside, kept it waiting for three-quarters of an hour. The plan for a university was explained by Cox. He exhorted his hearers to carry it into effect. "Let them have, then, a palace for genius, where her inspirations should be felt, from whence her bright emanations should go forth to illuminate the land (hear), and where future Ciceros should record their influence of that incitement which Tully declares he felt at Athens 'when he contemplated the porticos where Socrates sat, and the laurel groves where Plato disputed.' It was not the buildings of Athens, but its great men that pleased him—'*Me quidem ipsae illae nostrae Athenae; non tam operibus exquisitisque antiquorum artis delectant, quam recordatione summorum virorum, ubi quisque habitare, ubi sedere, ubi disputare sit solitus.*'" Mr. John Smith, in the absence of Brougham, moved that the prospectus be printed and published. Mr. Rutt then mounted the table, but he was cut short by the arrival of Brougham, who, "loudly called for and received with reiterated cheers," seconded the motion. Hobhouse thought it "a good speech, amusing, and much to the purpose, except, however, when he talked about religion: when on that topic he was sometimes on the verge of unbecoming pleasantry, sometimes on the brink of hypocrisy; and," he wrote, "he added to my previous conviction, that no man, whatever may be his talents, can, out of the pulpit, handle that subject fairly and well." [2] Nevertheless, "The Honourable and Learned Gentleman ceased speaking amid universal applause, and immediately withdrew, attended by the cheers of the meeting." Mr. Rutt mounted the table again, and having been constrained to wait until the resolution was put, addressed the meeting, "but was repeatedly interrupted through a misapprehension of his intention." Mr. Rutt was not in the programme. There were "gentlemen

[1] *The Edinburgh Review . . .*, xlii, 1825, 361.

[2] Lord Broughton: *Recollections of a Long Life*, 6 v., 1909–11, iii, 113–4.

of great weight and influence in society" there, ready to play their parts. He was prosy and irrelevant. "The Lord Mayor begged the gentleman would address himself to the subject before the meeting." Mr. Rutt resumed, and was again interrupted. "Am I [he retorted] at this late period of my life, to be thus put down by those who, in doing so, afford the strongest proofs of the necessity for establishing a London University? (Loud laughter, and "Question, question.") The Lord Mayor said, it being the sense of the meeting that the gentleman was out of order, he trusted he would not proceed. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Rutt, with great pertinacity, resumed," but said, "as the meeting appeared determined to compel him to retire, he would take his leave (with reference to the City of London . . .) in the words of the banished Roman—*Esto perpetua!* (Approbation.)" After this diversion the business proceeded more rapidly. Mackintosh proposed that the institution be called the "London University," and was seconded by Campbell. Campbell spoke badly, says Redding, "commencing deliberately, but soon, from an overflow of ideas pressing too much upon him for utterance, he became excited and almost unintelligible. . . . He was rarely capable of addressing the public for more than a very few minutes without losing himself in this manner. When he had any literary subject upon which to speak, he wrote out his speech and got it by heart. It was painful to hear one whose mind was so well stored with information upon the topic in hand, manage so ill."[1] He was followed by Lord John Russell, the Rev. Joseph Fletcher of Stepney, Abercromby, Goldsmid, and Benjamin Shaw. Resolutions were carried approving of the omission of theological instruction, precluding religious tests, regulating financial matters, and appointing a building committee. Votes of thanks were moved by Wilks and Birkbeck. "As the meeting was breaking up Mr. Denman and Mr. Gurney entered the room and addressed them."

The first prospectus[2] was printed, and appeared in *The*

[1] C. Redding: *Life and Reminiscences of Thomas Campbell*, in *The New Monthly Magazine and Humorist*, 1847, pt. ii, 317.

[2] App. I, B, i, No. 7.

Times on the 9th of July.[1] The Provisional Committee met weekly until the 19th of December.[2] On that date there was held a General Meeting of Shareholders, and a Council was elected, which took its place.[3] On the 6th of February another General Meeting was summoned to approve of a Deed of Settlement,[4] and on the 11th of February, 1826, the deed was signed and the Council was formally appointed.

The first Council consisted of James Abercromby, Lord Auckland, Alexander Baring, George Birkbeck, Henry Brougham, Thomas Campbell, Viscount Dudley and Ward, Isaac Lyon Goldsmid, Olinthus G. Gregory, George Grote, Joseph Hume, the Marquis of Lansdowne, Zachary Macaulay, Sir James Mackintosh, James Mill, the Duke of Norfolk, Lord John Russell, Benjamin Shaw, John Smith, William Tooke, Henry Warburton, Henry Waymouth, John Whishaw, and Thomas Wilson.[5] It is representative of the several sources from which the university derived its being. The central figure may, in a sense, be said to be Goldsmid. Once in touch with him, Campbell was in touch directly, or at one remove, with the rest. Goldsmid had long been associated with Brougham, and Brougham brought to the support of the scheme the Whigs, represented by Abercromby, Auckland, Baring, Dudley and Ward, Lansdowne, Mackintosh, John Smith, Russell, and Whishaw; the Duke of Norfolk, who spoke for the Catholics; the Dissenters, represented by Gregory, Shaw, Waymouth, and Wilson; and, through his association with the Mechanics' Institution, George Birkbeck. With Hume, Goldsmid had worked in support of Lancaster's educational experiments. He had long been connected with the Utilitarians, who were represented by Grote, Mill, Tooke, and Warburton, and his support of negro emancipation had brought him into touch with the Evangelicals, represented by

[1] *The Times*, 9 July, 1825, 2 d.

[2] Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 27,824, f. 299; *cf.* App. I, B, i, No. 7; *The Courier*, 22 July, 1825, 1 a.

[3] App. I, B, i, Nos. 11, 12, 14; *The New Monthly Magazine*, n.s. xviii, 1826, 38.

[4] App. I, B, i, No. 16.

[5] *The Deed of Settlement of the University of London*, 1826, § 26.

Macaulay. Although these groups were related to one another in other ways, for Campbell, Goldsmid was the connecting link.

Of these men, Thomas Wilson was the eldest at sixty-one, Grote was the youngest at thirty-one. Lord John Russell was thirty-three. Among the most active were Auckland, Grote, Hume, Macaulay, Mill, Warburton, and Waymouth.[1]

Campbell came gradually to take a smaller and smaller part in the work. As early as September, 1825, Place was recording how Campbell, "a simple sensitive creature," had been made unhappy by the way in which Brougham had tricked him out of the credit of being the originator of the university,[2] and he began to talk of retiring and leaving the business in other hands.[3] He had little administrative ability. He did not love work, as Redding remarked. He was a dreamer of dreams, "perpetually occupied with some subject from which nothing came,"[4] and was dependent upon others for the realisation of his plans. He had no capacity for that sustained attention to detail which is necessary to the translation of an idea into an institution, and he was at the same time, it must be admitted, a captious and irritable colleague, over careful of his own reputation and quick to take offence. "The whole matter was taken up," Place wrote on the 26th of February, 1827, "in a manner somewhat different to that which you and I had contemplated. It went at once into the hands of those who were most capable of raising the necessary funds and my interference was at an end."[5] He was the more ready to sympathise with Campbell for having a grievance of his own. Six months before, in July, 1826, he had made the following entry in his diary:

"Saturday 8 . . . Mr. Campbell, he had been at the council of the intended London University where the plan suggested by me to

[1] Mrs. Grote: *The Personal Life of George Grote*, 1873, 57; A. Bain: *James Mill. A Biography*, 1882, 263.

[2] Brit. Mus., Add. MS., 35,146, f. 5.

[3] W. Beattie: *Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell*, 3 v., 1849, ii, 442.

[4] C. Redding: *Fifty Years' Recollections*, 3 v., 2nd ed., 1858, ii, 223, 362–3.

[5] Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 27,824, f. 255.

induce persons to become shareholders had been discussed. It seems that some time ago Brougham had spoken of me as of a person who could if he chose be very useful in promoting the objects of the council and particularly in the sale of shares, Mr. Wm. Tooke having cogitated on the matter and knowing that I had taken a very decided part promoting other societies, and that my efforts on these occasions had been useful, requested me to see him in the hope of our being able to form a plan to dispose of shares. My Plan having been mentioned, was immediately admitted to be useful, and fit to be proceeded upon, Brougham concurred in this but objected that my name if mixed up with the College might be injurious on account of the Infidel opinions I was, (he said) known to entertain. It is more than probable that my opinions on these matters were unknown to all the members of the council excepting those with whom I am rather intimately acquainted. Dr. Gregory on hearing this from Brougham became alarmed and showed himself, so Campbell says a narrow bigot, Campbell objected to Brougham and Gregory, and some others that my opinions had anything to do with it, that it was well known the council itself contained men of various religious opinions, and some notorious free thinkers, and that if exceptions were taken they would go round. Campbell said he would go with me and endeavour to dispose of shares.

The conduct of Brougham is as usual that of a shuffling lawyer, his [*sic*] is much better known as an Infidel than I am and he is known too as I am not known and cannot be known to be a shuffler in Politics. I will challenge him to go round with me to sell shares and I dare say he will do it." [1]

Campbell made a journey to Berlin in September and October, 1825, on purpose to inspect the new university there,[2] and he was still busy with the affairs of the university in March, 1827,[3] and took a keen interest, as will be seen, in the appointments to the chairs, but he was jealous of the credit which had been acquired by Brougham. It was in February, 1827, that Place sent to him the substance of the notes which he had made in February, 1825.[4] On the 17th of March, 1827, Hobhouse recorded in his diary that, " The other day T. Campbell, the poet, called on me, big with complaints against Brougham,

[1] Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 35,146, f. 31.

[2] W. Beattie: *Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell*, 3 v., 1849, ii, 443, 446–7, 449.

[3] *Ibid.*, iii, 8.

[4] P. 18, *supra*.

and told me several traits of his character which I would fain think unfairly drawn."[1] Campbell was not present at the laying of the foundation-stone, being occupied in Glasgow with his duties as Lord Rector,[2] but listened anxiously to hear what Brougham would say,[3] and Hobhouse himself added fuel to the flame by giving all the credit to Brougham in his speech at the foundation dinner.[4] To this source of vexation and to his preoccupation with the business of the University of Glasgow, were added during the winter of 1827–8 his own ill-health and the illness and death of his wife.[5] He only attended one meeting of the Council after February, 1827, was selected as one of the six members due to retire in February, 1828, and was not re-elected.[6]

iii. Financial Difficulties

At the beginning of 1826 the progress of the scheme suffered a check. The projectors found themselves in financial difficulties. Under the Deed of Settlement they were required to raise a capital of not less than one hundred and fifty thousand pounds.[7] In the summer of 1825 Brougham had been very optimistic. "Tell me how many shares of the London University stock you will have," he wrote to Rogers in August. "It pays six per cent.—for we only call for sixty-six pounds a share, and pay four per cent. on a nominal hundred. So, in the market, we should be overrun with jobbers, and defeated in the vote at every turn. We are therefore anxious to get as many good men and true as we can to hold the shares, and already we have eleven hundred shares so disposed of,"[8] and before the end of the month the number was up to

[1] Lord Broughton: *Recollections of a Long Life*, 6 v., 1909–11, iii, 178.

[2] W. Beattie: *Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell*, 3 v., 1849, iii, 9–15; *The Times*, 1 March, 1827, 1 b.

[3] W. Beattie, *op. cit.*, iii, 14.

[4] *The Morning Chronicle*, 1 May, 1827, 3 e; 7 May, 1827, 2 e.

[5] C. Redding: *Life and Reminiscences of Thomas Campbell*, in *The New Monthly Magazine and Humorist*, 1847, pt. ii, 319–20.

[6] Minutes, i, *passim et* f. 142.

[7] *The Deed of Settlement of the University of London*, 1826, 3.

[8] P. W. Clayden: *Rogers and His Contemporaries*, 2 v., 1889, i, 419.

fifteen hundred.[1] But to get shares taken up is not the same thing as to get the money paid down. At the beginning of 1826, wrote Place :

"the rage for Joint Stock Companies which had some time previously risen to a state bordering on insanity, had begun to subside. So numerous were the fraudulent projects and so heedlessly or culpably had many eminent men, as well Noblemen as Commoners, lent their names and bestowed their exertions, for the purpose of promoting these frauds that no sooner did alarm commence and the public became aware of the nature of these transactions than they ran into the opposite extreme and every new project was looked upon as an attempt to commit a fraud, from the imputation of which no name could rescue it. The consequence was that no more shares in the London University could be sold.

Many of the Subscribers from unforseen causes were so circumstanced, that it became imprudent for them to pay the instalment upon the shares they had agreed to take. Many shares had been taken up by persons whose object was immediate gain by sale of them, but as no premium could be obtained these persons refused to pay the deposit, and never took the shares they had applied for.

The Council lost no time in demanding payment of the first instalment of twenty-five pounds on each share,[2] when instead of receiving as they ought to have done, payments to a much larger amount than was by the deed of settlement necessary to enable them to commence the building, the number on which the instalment was paid produced a sum much below the necessary amount. The number of shares on which the instalment should have been paid to enable the Council to proceed was 1500—the number on which the instalment was paid fell about 300 short of that number." [3]

Reminders were sent to the shareholders in November, 1825, and in January, March, and June, 1826.[4] By August, Hume calculated that only eighty-four more shares were required.[5] But at a meeting of the shareholders on the 31st of October the Council had to report that, in order to complete the

[1] P. W. Clayden, *op. cit.*, i, 420 ; *Hist. MSS. Com., Report on Manuscripts in Various Collections*, ii [Cd. 932], 1903, 345.

[2] App. I, B, i, No. 9.

[3] Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 27,823, ff. 397–8 ; *cf.* W. Smart : *Economic Annals of the Nineteenth Century*, 2 v., 1910 and 1917, ii, c. xxvi ; App. I, B, i, No. 19.

[4] App. I, B, i, Nos. 10, 15, 19, 25.

[5] J. Hume to F. Place, 5 Aug., 1826, Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 27,824, f. 287.

1,500, 200 supplemental shares had been created. The Council had been at a standstill, "when two large proprietors . . . J. Smith and I. L. Goldsmid having heard of the circumstances agreed to take the risk of 50 supplementary shares each." Many others had been applied to, and 190 shares had been taken up.[1] In November a call for a further instalment of £10 per share was made upon the shareholders.[2] By the 3rd of February the whole of the 1,500 shares were filled up and the second instalment paid upon a large proportion.[3] At the Annual Meeting on the 28th of February, 1827, the Council was able to report receipts amounting to £33,675.[4] With this it had been able to acquire a site and begin building operations.

iv. Building

On the 10th of August, 1825, Brougham wrote to James Loch, "I arranged t'other day when in town for taking the ground (Carmarthen Square) & advertising immediately for plans," [5] but until the minimum capital had been raised the Provisional Committee was powerless to purchase. John Smith, Goldsmid, and Benjamin Shaw came to their aid, bought the site at their own risk, and held it until the university was able to take it from them.[6] It had been purchased for Bevan, a banker of Lombard Street, at public auction in November, 1824, for £22,050. Its purchase for the university was reported to the Provisional Committee on the 26th of September, 1825.[7] It was transferred on the 17th of November for £30,000 to John Smith, Benjamin Shaw, and I. L. Goldsmid. "Mr. Bevan," the agent complained, "*shabbily paid me only* 50 *Guineas* for my commission." [8]

[1] *The Times*, 31 Oct., 1826, 2 d; *Statement*, App., Sect. II, 41–6; Minutes, i, ff. 18, 19, 24–5; *Cal.*, 1831, vii.

[2] App. I, B, i, No. 29.

[3] *The Morning Chronicle*, 5 Feb., 1827, 3 c.

[4] *The Times*, 1 March, 1827, 1 b; *Statement*, App., Sect. III, 46–9.

[5] U.C.L., Loch Corres.

[6] *Ann. Rept.*, 1842, 8; 1858, 10; 1859, 10–1; *Deed of Settlement of the University of London*, 1826, 3, 23, 23–4.

[7] App. I, B, i, No. 9.

[8] MS. note on a copy of the *Design adopted by the Council for the University of London.*

THE SURROUNDINGS IN 1828.

From a *Map of London from an Actual Survey made in the years* 1824, 1825 *and* 1826. By C. and J. Greenwood.

The site comprised an area of nearly eight acres. It was the last fragment not yet built upon of the Long Fields which lay north of Bedford and Montague Houses and between what are now Gray's Inn Road and Tottenham Court Road. Mr. Tibbs had drilled there in 1806.[1] Subsequently it became a dumping-ground for refuse.[2] It was designed for a square to be called Carmarthen Square. It included the original hospital site and that part of Gower Street which runs between the college and the hospital. The west side of William Street, now Gordon Street, was yet unbuilt. There was vacant ground to the south between the houses in Gower Street upon the one side and those facing Gordon Square upon the other. The builders had not yet made Camden Town one with London, and there was open country beyond.

An advertisement for plans was inserted in the Press in August, 1825.[3] The Council selected from several submitted to it that of William Wilkins.[4] It was announced in May, 1826, that copies of the design could be obtained at the offices of the university.[5] The engraving was the work of Frederick Mackenzie.[6] The contract was put out to tender, and the lowest, that of Messrs. Lee for £107,000, exclusive of stone ornaments to the amount of about £3,000, was accepted.[7] The contractors were ready to begin work by the middle of

[1] C. Dickens: *Sketches by Boz illustrative of Every-Day Life and Every-Day People.* Works . . . Gadshill Edition, 1898, i, 333.

[2] *Report to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, from the Poor Law Commissioners, on an Inquiry into the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain; with Appendices. Presented to both Houses of Parliament, by Command of Her Majesty, July,* 1842. . . . Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1842, 381.

[3] *The Life and Times of Henry Lord Brougham written by Himself,* 3 v., 1871, ii, 469; Brougham to J. Loch, 10 Aug., 1825, U.C.L., Loch Corres.

[4] *Statement,* 24, App., Sect. II, 142–3; *cf.* Minutes, i, App., ff. 6–7; [Sir Gregory Foster and A. Stratton] *University College, London,* in *Country Life,* lxi, No. 1587, 1927, 973–7; W. H. Leeds: *Illustrations of the Public Buildings of London, with descriptive Accounts of each Edifice. Supplement,* 1838, 77–88; A. T. Bolton, *Caricature in Architecture,* in *The Architect,* cix, 1923, 51–2.

[5] App. I, B, i, No. 22, 4; *Statement,* 41.

[6] Corres., No. 33.

[7] *Statement,* 43; Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 27,824, f. 291.

September,[1] and in October the Council announced its intention of commencing operations by causing the foundations to be excavated.[2] The 7th of March was first fixed upon as the date for the laying of the foundation-stone,[3] but work was hampered by bad weather during the winter of 1826–7,[4] and the Council was anxious to delay the ceremony until the return of Brougham from circuit,[5] and it was postponed to the 30th of April.

The stone was laid by the Duke of Sussex. The mallet used was the one used in laying the first stone of St. Paul's, and presented by Wren to the Masonic Lodge of Antiquity.[6] "The day was delightful, and the ceremony drew an immense crowd to the spot."[7] Coins and an inscribed copper plate were placed in a cavity of the stone. A prayer was offered by the Rev. Edward Maltby, and Dr. Lushington delivered an address.[8] At six o'clock the company assembled for dinner at the Freemasons' Tavern in Great Queen Street. "The room was crowded to excess, and all the galleries were filled with ladies, who seemed to feel great interest in the scene."[9] More than two hundred applicants for tickets could not be supplied, Horner reports.[10] Many speeches were made and many healths were drunk. "We had a dinner of 470 at the Freemasons' Tavern on laying the foundation of London University," wrote Charles Bell to his brother.

"The ceremony was, I suppose, common, but very pretty. The dinner brought 8,000 l., and the progress of the work will bring in subscriptions fast. Brougham was exceedingly good. It was most like Charles Matthews' representation of Curran—grave and seceder-like,

[1] *The Times*, 19 Sept., 1826, 2 d.

[2] *Statement*, App., Sect. II, 44; *cf.* 46, 47.

[3] *The Morning Chronicle*, 5 Feb., 1827, 3 c.

[4] *Statement*, App., Sect. III, 47–8.

[5] *The Times*, 1 March, 1827, Supplement, 1 b.

[6] *Gentleman's Magazine*, xcvii, pt. i, 1827, 445 a.

[7] *The Morning Chronicle*, 1 May, 1827; *cf. The Times*, 1 May, 1827, Supplement, 3 a–b.

[8] *Statement*, App., Sect. IV.

[9] *The Morning Chronicle*, 1 May, 1827, 3 c.

[10] *Memoir of Leonard Horner* . . . Edited by his daughter Katharine M. Lyell, 2 v., 1890, i, 231.

first sawing with one hand, and then the other, and generally holding out his two fists straight before him. He delivers himself in a measured, slow, continuous flow of words, and excels in sarcasm. His description of a man sneering at the University, and continuing the joke when the laugh was (to him unconscious) altogether at him and not with him, was felicitous, and made the fat fellows roar again. As for the rest of them, their style of oratory put into my head men turned from dogs, who barked when they should speak—the sound or drone of their voice generally confounding the articulate sounds." [1]

Some annoyance was caused to the friends of Campbell by the description of Brougham by Hobhouse, who admitted that he had "not hitherto been very particularly active," as the man "to whom alone—allowing full merit to his coadjutors—the University of London owed its foundation," and by the tacit acceptance by Brougham of the eulogy.[2]

v. Professoriate

The Council, achieving formal constitution in February, 1826, and having during the following twelve months secured its financial position and begun building operations, had now to appoint the teachers in the new university and to define its curriculum.[3]

The first appointment was that of Leonard Horner as Warden, made at a special meeting of the proprietors on the 30th of May, 1827. It was felt that "the progress of the building, the growing amount of receipts and expenses, the necessity for communications between the Council and Candidates for Professorships, Proprietors and others, the purchase of books and philosophical apparatus, and ultimately the admission and classification of students, with the framing and enforcing of rules of discipline," called for the appointment of such an officer.[4] The first appointments to the professoriate were made in July. The Council had very naturally first sought to engage men of high standing, but it could offer but small emoluments and a precarious future, and had

[1] *Letters of Sir Charles Bell*, 1870, 295–6.
[2] *The Morning Chronicle*, 1 May, 1827, 3 e; *cf. ibid.*, 7 May, 1827, 2 e.
[3] *Statement*, 47.
[4] *Statement*, App., Sect. V, 55–6.

often to content itself with those of less reputation. The first list to be published contained the names of George Long, the Rev. Dionysius Lardner, W. J. Hooker, J. F. Meckel, G. S. Pattison, A. T. Thomson, J. Conolly, John Austin, Andrew Amos, J. R. McCulloch, and R. E. Grant. Five days later were announced the names of Charles Bell,[1] D. D. Davis, and J. Millington.[2]

Two of these, Hooker, appointed to the chair of Botany and Vegetable Physiology, and Meckel, appointed to that of Morbid and Comparative Anatomy, never took up their duties. Hooker relinquished the appointment, partly for lack of the guarantee of a sufficient income,[3] partly in consequence of the decision of the Council that it could not afford to establish a botanic garden.[4] Meckel[5] had written in May, 1827, to a friend in London, Dr. Spry, in answer to an enquiry whether he had any wish for an appointment in London, expressing discontent with his position at Halle and his readiness to accept a post in the new university should the Council offer him terms, of which he gave some indication, which he would regard as satisfactory. This letter Spry communicated to Horner, and it was by him laid before the Council. Upon the strength of it the Council dispensed with a formal application, appointed him to the chair, published his name in the first list of professors, and despatched Pattison, the newly-appointed professor of Anatomy, to Halle to conclude the agreement. Pattison spent nearly a week in Halle and consented to propose to the Council a guarantee of £1,000 a year, part of which was to be regarded by Meckel as an annuity upon his museum which he was to bring with him, but on arriving in Berlin he received a letter from Meckel containing greatly increased and, as it seemed to him, extravagant demands. These the Council refused to entertain, but it invited Meckel to London and

[1] *Letters of Sir Charles Bell*, 1870, 296, 299.

[2] *The Times*, 14 July, 1827, 2 e; 19 July, 1827, 3 a; *D.N.B. s.vv.*

[3] W. J. Hooker to I. L. Goldsmid, 26 Jan. 1828, MS. *penes* Lt.-Col. O. E. d'Avigdor Goldsmid.

[4] *Ann. Rept.*, 1828, 6.

[5] *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, Leipzig, 1885, *s.v.*

offered to pay his expenses. He accepted its invitation, but he did not come, and the Council, anxious to publish a *Statement* of the plan of studies, finally broke off the negotiation.[1]

Of the remainder, seven were young men between the ages of twenty-six and thirty-seven, who had shown great promise, and most of whom were in some way or other connected with the promoters. Long, professor of Greek Language, Literature, and Antiquities, was twenty-six, was a Cambridge contemporary of Praed, Charles Austin, and Macaulay, and had, as has been noted, been appointed to the chair of Ancient Languages in the newly established University of Virginia. Lardner, professor of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy, had made a reputation at Dublin, was a contributor to the *Edinburgh Review*, and has been said to have owed his appointment to the influence of Brougham.[2] Austin, professor of Jurisprudence and the Law of Nations, the eldest of the group, was thirty-seven, and had for seven years been a member of the circle which had gathered round Bentham in Queen's Square. Amos, professor of English Law, was rapidly making his way at the Bar. Grant, professor of Zoology, had lectured for Barclay at Edinburgh, and Barclay had been closely associated with Bell. Conolly, appointed professor of the Nature and Treatment of Diseases, was in private practice at Stratford-on-Avon, and was an assistant to the editor of the *London Medical Repository*. Pattison, professor of Anatomy, had held the chair of Anatomy, Physiology, and Surgery in the University of Maryland at Baltimore, which he had lately resigned.

In addition to these, the first lists contained five names of established reputation, Bell, Thomson, Davis, McCulloch, and Millington. Bell, appointed jointly with Meckel and Pattison to the chairs of Anatomy, Surgery, and Physiology,[3]

[1] A. B. Granville: *St. Petersburgh. A Journal of Travels to and from that Capital*, 2 v., 1828, ii, 664–70; *London Medical Gazette*, ii, 535–6, 537–44 (27 Sept., 1828), 561–3 (4 Oct., 1828), iii, 14–6 (6 Dec., 1828), 108–10 (20 Dec., 1828); *cf. John Bull*, viii, 1828, 292 c–293 a, 299 a, 310 a–b, 333 a, 351 b; Minutes, i, ff. 126–7, 130, 143; *Ann. Rept.*, 1828, 6.

[2] A. Webb: *A Compendium of Irish Biography*, 1888, 282–3.

[3] Minutes, i, f. 99.

was intimate with many of the promoters, including both Brougham and Campbell. His assistance was of the first importance to the establishment of the medical school, and his influence upon the appointments to the medical chairs seems to have been great. Thomson, professor of Materia Medica and Pharmacy, and Davis, Professor of Midwifery and the Diseases of Women and Children, were leading London practitioners, and the former was a college friend of Brougham. McCulloch, professor of Political Economy, was a recognised authority on his subject, and a prominent contributor to the *Edinburgh Review*, and had recently delivered in London the Ricardo Memorial Lectures. Millington, professor of Engineering and the Application of Mechanical Philosophy to the Arts, was a professor at the Royal Institution, and was associated with Birkbeck and the Mechanics' Institution. He resigned the chair in 1828 on the refusal of the Council to guarantee a salary of £400 a year, but agreed to give occasional lectures.[1]

Before the university opened in October, 1828, a new appointment was made in place of Hooker, and thirteen more names were added to the list.[2] The appointments to the chairs of Philosophy, of History, and of Roman Law, were delayed until after the opening. The chair of Mineralogy and Geology was not filled. After the resignation of Meckel the teaching of Physiology and Clinical Surgery was allotted to Bell, that of Anatomy and Morbid Anatomy to Pattison.[3] The teaching of Comparative Anatomy was added to the duties of the professor of Zoology.[4] No appointment to the chair of Surgery was made until 1830. An attempt had already been made to obtain the services of Brodie.[5] In the meantime Bell added to his work as professor of Clinical Surgery such courses as to make the teaching sufficiently comprehensive for the certificate required by the College of Surgeons.[6]

[1] Minutes, i, ff. 179, 180, 182, 183.
[2] *Cf. D.N.B. s.vv.*
[3] Minutes, i, ff. 145, 152; *Ann. Rept.*, 1828, 6.
[4] Minutes, i, f. 158.
[5] G. V. Poore: *Oration on the History of University College*, 1897, 13–4.
[6] *Second Statement*, 15 n.; *Rept.*, 30 Sept., 1828, 2.

The further appointments were almost all of young men. For the chair of Chemistry the Council chose Edward Turner.[1] There were few candidates, and Turner was an Edinburgh man and an acquaintance of Leonard Horner.[2] Mill sought to obtain the services of Thomas Thomson,[3] and the chair was offered to Faraday.[4] To that of Clinical Medicine was appointed Thomas Watson, who had recently become physician to the Middlesex Hospital. Robert Carswell, then studying morbid anatomy in Paris under Louis, received the chair of Pathological Anatomy,[5] but was commissioned to prepare a collection of pathological drawings and remained in Paris until 1831. For the chair of Mathematics, which had been offered to Herschel [6] and Babbage,[7] the Council chose out of twenty [8] candidates a man of twenty-one just down from Cambridge, Augustus De Morgan.[9] He attributed his selection to the influence of Brougham and Warburton.[10] The vacancy in the chair of Botany was filled by the appointment of John Lindley,[11] who had been a friend of Hooker at Halesworth, and had come to London with an introduction from him to Sir Joseph Banks. J. R. Bennett[12] was appointed Demonstrator in anatomy.[13] The first choice of the Council for the chair of Roman Language, Literature, and Antiquities, was the Rev. John Williams, of Balliol College, Oxford,[14] but he resigned in June, 1828, in deference to the opposition of his

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine*, xcvii, pt. ii, 1827, 446.

[2] R. Angus Smith: *The Life and Works of Thomas Graham*, 1884, 29–32.

[3] A. Bain: *James Mill. A Biography*, 1882, 263, 313.

[4] Bence Jones: *The Life and Letters of Faraday*, 2 v., 1870, i, 405–8.

[5] Minutes, i, ff. 164–5. [6] Corres., No. 407.

[7] *Life and Letters of Sir Charles Lyell.* Edited by his sister-in-law, Mrs. Lyell, 2 v., 1881, i, 178.

[8] Minutes, i, *passim.* [9] *Ibid.*, i, f. 152.

[10] S. E. De Morgan: *Memoir of Augustus De Morgan*, 1882, 24, 312.

[11] Minutes, i, f. 170.

[12] *Quarterly Journal of Education*, iv, 1832, 13; [Memorial] *To the President and Members of the Court of Examiners of the Royal College of Surgeons, London. . . . James R. Bennett* [n.d.].

[13] *The Times*, 12 May, 1828, 6 e.

[14] *Gentleman's Magazine*, xcvii, pt. ii, 1827, 446.

ecclesiastical superiors to the secular character of the university.[1] His resignation was a great loss. An intimate friend of Lockhart, and introduced by him to Sir Walter Scott, he had in 1824 become, at the instance of the latter, rector of a new proprietary day school in Edinburgh, and returning to it in 1829 won a position beside his college contemporary, Arnold, as one of the great head masters of the century. The Council appointed in succession to him T. H. Key.[2] It was Key, it will be remembered, to whom Gilmer had been introduced by Praed, to whom Long had owed his appointment at Virginia, and who had himself been chosen for the chair of Mathematics in that university. He had returned to England in 1827 on the ground of ill-health. For the chair of English Language and Literature was chosen the Rev. Thomas Dale.[3] He was a young Cambridge graduate who had obtained notoriety by the publication in 1824 of two volumes of *The Tragedies of Sophocles, translated in English Verse*. The chair of Sanskrit, the title of which was afterwards changed first to that of Oriental Literature and then to Oriental Languages, and extended to include Persian, Arabic, and finally Hindustani, was filled by the appointment of a young German of twenty-two, F. A. Rosen.[4] Trained at Göttingen and Leipzig he had gone to Berlin to sit at the feet of Bopp, and was at the moment in Paris studying under Silvestre de Sacy.

The appointment to the chair of Hindustani[5] was anomalous. In choosing J. B. Gilchrist the Council acted with less than its usual discretion. He was a man of nearly seventy. He had done good service to the advancement of the study of oriental languages, and he had been quick to urge upon the Council the importance of making provision for oriental studies, and had offered his services gratuitously,[6] but he had succeeded before in making gratuitous services very profitable, and had in 1816 closed a troubled connection with the East

[1] Minutes, i, ff. 188–9.
[2] *Ibid.*, i, f. 192.
[3] *The Times*, 23 Jan., 1828, 2 c.
[4] *Ibid.*, 31 May, 1828, 3 c; *Second Statement*, 9; *Cal.*, 1831, 43.
[5] Minutes, i, f. 153.
[6] *The Times*, 1 March, 1827, Supplement, 1 b.

India Company by launching at them a folio volume of abuse and complaint entitled *The Oriental-Occidental Tuitionary Pioneer to Literary Pursuits by the King's and Company's Officers of all Ranks . . . and Departments . . . Fourteen Reports to the Court of Directors . . . Likewise a Brief Prospectus of the Art of Thinking made easy and attractive to Children . . . A comprehensive Panglossal Diorama for a universal Language and Character, Accompanied with the Hindee-Roman Orthoepigraphical Alphabet, a few Specimens of synoptical Lectures on the principal Languages current in Hindoostan, and A Perfectly New Theory of Latin Verbs. The whole conveying much seasonable Information to opulent Families . . . independent of no small portion of valuable miscellaneous, philological, and local Knowledge, in what may be termed the* regio ignota *of oriental Education in England . . .*; and the Council found itself placed by its action in danger of becoming a party to an attempt to damage an institution for the teaching of oriental languages undertaken on the express condition of support by Dr. Gilchrist, but deserted by him so soon as it became clear that it would not serve the purposes he had intended.[1]

The appointment to the chair of Hebrew was the source of some trepidation.

"On another subject," Campbell wrote to Lord Auckland, "I request you to reflect . . . I regret that this matter has some relation & a delicate one to our excellent friend Goldsmith [*sic*] to whom the scheme is so deeply indebted—I am glad that he—of Jewish faith is of our Council—& I should be very glad to waive my recommendation of my own Hebrew Master in Germany [Cohen][2] for the mere sake of obliging Mr. Goldsmid as I believe Hurwitz to be as good a teacher as we need—But Query what will the world say to a Jew expounding the scriptures—Woe betide that poor Jew if he makes one

[1] *First Annual Report of the London Oriental Institution for initiating Gentlemen proceeding to British India, and other parts of the East, in the Grammatical Principles and Colloquial Practice of the Most Essential Native Languages, established by Dr. J. Borthwick Gilchrist, LL.D., and under the direction of Sandford Arnot, . . . and Duncan Forbes, A.M. . . .* 1828, *passim et* p. 27.

[2] W. Beattie: *Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell*, 3 v., 1849, ii, 390.

remark that Christian bigot can pick a quarrel with & it is a desperate trammel on a teacher of Hebrew when he cannot give free opinions about the history of the Hebrew language & its books. The freedom of the Christian professors of Hebrew in Germany is astonishing—& they have told truths which a Jew would have been stoned for telling —Not that I should recommend our Hebraist if he were a Christian to be quite so free—But I dread exceedingly that Hurwitz's appointment would be not only tampering with public prejudices but exposing the Hebrew Chair to greater restrictions than it would have if filled by a Christian " [1]

Nevertheless, Hurwitz was appointed.[2] He was supported by a testimonial from Coleridge.[3]

For the modern language chairs the condition of Europe provided a plentiful supply of political exiles. For that of Spanish the Council chose Antonio Alcalá Galiano.[4] Born in 1789, he had played a conspicuous part in Spanish politics, and had arrived in London in December, 1823, a penniless exile, and, unwilling as a critic of British policy to accept the succour offered by the government, was earning a precarious livelihood as an occasional writer and a teacher of Spanish.[5] To the chair of German the Council appointed Ludwig von Mühlenfels,[6] a victim of the German reaction of 1819.[7] For that of French, Lafayette supported the name of Frédéric Degeorges,[8] an ardent Bonapartist, then an exile in England and later to become implicated in the July Revolution,[9] but the Council was not satisfied that he or any other of the

[1] Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 29,475, ff. 70–1.

[2] *The Times*, 23 Jan., 1828, 2 c.

[3] Minutes, i, f. 55. [4] *Ibid.*, i, f. 146.

[5] *Apuntes para la biografía del Excmo. Sr. D. Antonio Alcalá Galiano, escritos por el mismo*, Madrid, 1865; *Memorias de D. Antonio Alcalá Galiano publicadas por su hijo*, 2 t., Madrid, 1886.

[6] *The Times*, 12 May, 1828, 6 c.

[7] Abschrift eines Lebenslaufs des Ludwig von Mühlenfels aus dem Archivmaterial, das sich über Mühlenfels im Preussischen Geheimen Staatsarchiv in Berlin-Dahlem befindet, in the college library.

[8] R. Russell: *Early Correspondence of Lord John Russell*, 2 v., 1913, i, 255.

[9] A. Robert and G. Cougny: *Dictionnaire des parlementaires français*, Paris, 1889, ii, 294–5.

numerous applicants was suited to fill a chair of Literature, and appointed P. F. Merlet as a professor of the language only.[1]

To the chair of Italian, Campbell was inclined to urge the claims of Ugo Foscolo. In the letter to Lord Auckland which has just been quoted, he wrote, "Another idea has occurred to me that Foscolo with all his faults would be a desirable professor—I have lamented & felt too much the excentricities of his temper & way of living & recommend him from no personal feelings—But I have been comparing his Introduction to Dante with Rosetti's, a candidate recommended to me by my old friend Sir Graham Moore—& what a difference!—The talent of Foscolo is positively first rate—& his name as a literary man would be an accession to us—."[2] But the Council chose Anthony Panizzi.[3] He had been arrested as a Carbonaro in 1822, but had escaped, and coming to England had been befriended by Foscolo, Brougham, and the Roscoes, and had established himself as a teacher in Liverpool.

It was not at first the intention of the Council to establish at once a professorship of Medical Jurisprudence, but it was persuaded by J. G. Smith to reconsider its decision and to appoint him to the chair.[4]

The Rev. F. A. Cox was chosen Librarian.[5] At the request of Amos, James Humphreys promised to deliver gratuitously occasional lectures upon the Law of Real Property,[6] and it was announced that Campbell would lecture in the spring of 1829[7] on the History of Classical Literature. He desired to be made professor of the History of Literature, but the Council was precluded by the Deed of Settlement from acceding to his wishes.[8] Sismondi was invited to give a

[1] Minutes, i, ff. 198, 202.

[2] Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 29,475, f. 71.

[3] L. Fagan: *Life of Sir Anthony Panizzi*, 2 v., 2nd ed., 1880, i, 72–3; Minutes, i, f. 150.

[4] Minutes, i, ff. 162, 193, 198, 202. [5] *Ibid.*, i, f. 99.

[6] App. I, B, i, No. 51; Minutes, i, f. 184; *Rept.*, 30 Sept., 1828, 4.

[7] App. I, B, i, No. 51; Minutes, i, f. 207.

[8] Minutes, i, ff. 210–1; *Deed of Settlement of the University of London*, 1826, § 23; *Rept.*, 30 Sept., 1828, 3–4.

course of lectures on French Literature. He declined to do this, but offered a course on the History of the Middle Ages, but the Council found itself unable to guarantee him an acceptable remuneration.[1]

Up to the 1st of October, 1828, there were something like one hundred and eighty applications for the chairs. Among the unsuccessful candidates, besides Foscolo, Degeorges, and Rossetti, were Gaetano Polidore,[2] one time secretary to Alfieri (Italian), Thomas Jefferson Hogg,[3] the friend of Shelley (Roman Law), J. B. Sarrans [4] (French), G. L. Craik [5] (Logic), J. Wardrop [6] (Surgery), Herbert Mayo [7] (a medical professorship), J. Yates [8] (Greek), and Peter Nicholson [9] (Mathematics). Francis Lieber, with a testimonial from Niebuhr, applied for the chair of German, but withdrew on receiving an invitation to Boston.[10] P. M. Roget, who was a candidate for the chair of Physiology, also withdrew.[11] Carlyle thought of seeking an appointment, and after some hesitation between the chairs of English Literature and Moral Philosophy fixed his hopes on the latter. Jeffrey spoke to Brougham on his behalf, but Brougham was not encouraging, and he did not make a formal application.[12]

Perhaps the most conspicuous characteristic of the staff thus appointed was its youth. Setting aside Merlet, of the remaining twenty-seven professors, twenty-one were, when

[1] Minutes, i, ff. 213, 217. [2] *Ibid.*, i, f. 77.

[3] *Ibid.*, i, f. 120; T. J. Hogg: *An Introductory Lecture on the Study of the Civil Law, intended to have been read at the University of London: with Reasons why it was composed, but was not delivered*, 1831, 3–6.

[4] Minutes, i, f. 207; A. Robert and G. Cougny: *Dictionnaire des parlementaires français*, Paris, 1889.

[5] Minutes, i, f. 73. [6] *Ibid.*, i, f. 53. [7] *Ibid.*, i, f. 56.

[8] *Ibid.*, i, f. 50. [9] *Ibid.*, i, f. 51.

[10] *Ibid.*; L. R. Harley: *Francis Lieber: His Life and Political Philosophy*, N.Y., 1899, 48; Corres., No. 424.

[11] Minutes, i, f. 51.

[12] *The Love Letters of Thomas Carlyle and Jane Welsh.* Edited by Alexander Carlyle, 2 v., 1909, ii, 176–7; *Letters of Thomas Carlyle*, 1826–1836. Edited by C. E. Norton, 2 v., 1888, i, 76–8, 88–90, 270–1; T. Carlyle: *Reminiscences.* Edited by J. A. Froude, 2 v., 1881, ii, 27; D. A. Wilson: *Carlyle to "The French Revolution"* (1826–1837), 1924, 29–33.

the university opened in October, 1828, under forty years of age. Six were under, or only just, thirty. On a numerical calculation the strongest intellectual influence was Scottish. Horner, Bell, Thomson, Davis, Conolly, Pattison, Carswell, Smith, Turner, Grant, and McCulloch, had had a Scottish training, and Watson had been at Edinburgh for a session. Cambridge contributed Watson, Long, Key, De Morgan, Dale, and Amos. Oxford, after the resignation of Williams, was unrepresented. The professors also brought to the common stock a very cosmopolitan experience. In addition to Panizzi, Galiano, Merlet, Mühlenfels, Rosen, and Hurwitz, who were foreign born, Conolly, Carswell, Turner, and Austin had studied on the Continent, and Long, Key, and Pattison had been in the United States. Half of the professors, that is to say, knew at first hand something of the educational systems of countries other than their own.

vi. Constitution

The function which the institution thus staffed was expected to fulfil was gradually defined between February, 1825, and October, 1828. The university was from the start designed in the minds of its founders to serve a double purpose. It was to provide higher education for those persons unable to go to Oxford or Cambridge, and it was to afford an opportunity for the study of those subjects neglected at Oxford and Cambridge. Oxford and Cambridge were exclusive, expensive, and narrow.[1] London was to be open and cheap,[2] and to remove the reproach "that learning only means, in its common acceptation, a knowledge of the dead languages and mathematics."[3]

The university, as Campbell conceived it, was to serve first and foremost the "middling rich," the "small, comfortable, trading fortunes."[4] There was provision for the rich at Oxford and Cambridge: popular education was making

[1] *Cf. The Edinburgh Review*, xlii, 1825, 346–67.
[2] *Statement*, 7–8.
[3] *The New Monthly Magazine*, n.s. xiii, 1825, 406.
[4] *The Times*, 9 Feb., 1825, 4 a–b.

progress. There was need for an institution "adapted to the circumstances of all that class of society whose incomes extend from 400 l. or 500 l. a year, to nearly as many thousands."[1] It was not meant to compete with the older universities, nor to afford a preparation for the learned professions. "The establishment would simply increase the general stock of knowledge in the middling classes of the metropolis."[2] Its main support must be sought among the residents in London,[3] though it would in time, it was hoped, attract students from the country, from the colonies, and from those foreign states where education was hampered by political restrictions.[4] At one time, in particular, there was an expectation of drawing a number of students from South America.[5]

There was some doubt about the name, and some hesitation whether the institution should seek to grant degrees. Campbell was at first insistent that it must be called a university. "I have been told that we ought not to call the proposed place an University, but a School, because we do not intend to ask for a power of conferring degrees . . . [but] a school generally means a seminary for mere boys, and an university means, both in common parlance and in the dictionary, not a place for getting degrees, but for getting instruction as universally as possible. If there be ridicule then in disputing about words, let it fall exclusively on those who would distort their etymology. I would by no means abandon the title."[6] But in April, 1825, Brougham talked in Edinburgh about "the establishment of a school on the model of the old High School of Edinburgh,"[7] and in *The New Monthly Magazine* for July, Campbell himself, whether or not through any loss of faith in his etymology, announced the alteration of the name to that of "College."[8] That

[1] *The New Monthly Magazine*, n.s. xiii, 1825, 406.
[2] *Ibid.*, 416. [3] App. I, B, i, No. 22.
[4] *Ibid.*, *Statement*, 9–10.
[5] *Statement*, 10; Corres., No. 543.
[6] *The New Monthly Magazine*, n.s. xiii, 1825, 407.
[7] *The Times*, 9 April, 1825, 3 a.
[8] *The New Monthly Magazine*, n.s. xiv, 1825, 1.

of "University," nevertheless, was adopted at the meeting on July 1st.

To seek to grant degrees was a more serious matter. That the founders began with that intention is clear; that they subsequently pressed their claim is common knowledge: but there was a time between when they protested themselves to be innocent of such designs. Campbell, in February, 1825, was zealous to refute the charge that London was unhealthy, and wrote to Place to ask him to get information. "But *d'ont hint*," he added, "*at our proposing an University with a charter to give medical degrees* or depend upon it the Faculty will discover London to be a place of the most horrible mortality."[1] In April he asserted in *The New Monthly Magazine* that they did not propose to give degrees,[2] and in the July number it was denied that there would be power to confer medical degrees.[3] In June, Brougham reported that he had said in the House of Commons that "they had no idea of founding fellowships, or conferring degrees."[4] For the time being the founders were constrained to content themselves with more modest ambitions.

The political constitution was embodied in the Deed of Settlement. The ultimate authority resided in the proprietors. In those early days of innocence, when it was still believed that the university stock might pay six per cent., there was some anxiety lest the vote might be controlled by stock jobbers, and the promoters were careful to place the shares in good hands,[5] and it was provided in the Deed that the Council might decline to accept as proprietors persons to whom the shares had passed by purchase or who held them as executors or assignees.[6] The proprietors were to meet annually on the last Wednesday in February to receive a report and make the necessary elections, and might be con-

[1] Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 27,824, f. 270; *cf. Letters of Sir Charles Bell*, 1870, 300.

[2] *The New Monthly Magazine*, n.s. xiii, 1825, 416.

[3] *Ibid.*, n.s. xiv, 1825, 6.

[4] *The Times*, 4 June, 1825, 4 a.

[5] P. W. Clayden: *Rogers and His Contemporaries*, 2 v., 1889, i, 419; *The Edinburgh Review*, xlii, 1825, 364–5.

[6] *Deed of Settlement of the University of London*, 1826, §§ 13, 19.

vened in a Special General Meeting as occasion arose.[1] The conduct of the institution was confided to a Council of twenty-four, elected by the proprietors, in the first instance for a period of two years. Annually thenceforth six of its members were to retire, three only of whom were to be re-eligible.[2] It was to make all appointments, and had power to dismiss anyone in the employment of the institution, but in the event of dismissal there was a right of appeal to a General Meeting of Proprietors.[3] The Council, as has been seen, appointed a Warden to superintend the affairs of the university, but they were careful to state "that the establishment of this Office will in no respect whatever interfere either with their authority or with their continued attention to the active discharge of their duties."[4] The professors were explicitly denied any power collectively as a body.[5] In March, 1828, in reply to a letter purporting to come from the Faculty of Medicine, the Council stated "that whilst they are anxious to treat with great deference the opinions given by any individual professor upon any subject connected with his duties, they see great inconvenience from the professors of any department taking the form of a corporate body & holding meetings as such with the view of addressing the Council. Where the Council think a collective opinion desirable the professors will be expressly summoned for the purpose."[6]

Each proprietor was entitled to present one student in respect of each share.[7] The cost was estimated at £25 to £30[8] per annum, and the estimate was adhered to.[9] It was at first thought probable that no students would be admitted other than those presented by proprietors,[10] but provision was subsequently made for the admission of others at an

[1] *Deed of Settlement of the University of London*, 1826, §§ 52, 53.
[2] *Ibid.*, §§ 25–7.
[3] *Ibid.*, § 30.
[4] *Statement*, 17.
[5] *Ibid.*, 18.
[6] Minutes, i, ff. 160–1.
[7] *Deed of Settlement of the University of London*, 1826, § 12.
[8] App. I, B, i, No. 7.
[9] *Statement*, 23–4; *Second Statement*, 20–6.
[10] *Statement*, 40.

advanced rate.[1] It was expected that there would be both full members of the university following "a regular course of academical instruction," and occasional students already engaged in a profession who could give only a part of their time.[2] For the convenience of such students provision was made for evening courses,[3] and the promoters had it in mind from the start that there should be evening lectures on popular subjects.[4] They talked of two thousand students.[5]

Campbell at one stage proposed that there should be no vacations. "I should propose no holidays, but rather to divide a class between two colleagues, lecturing alternate seasons, than have the establishment vacant a week in the year."[6] The first *Prospectus* suggested a fortnight at Christmas and Easter, and six weeks from the middle of August to the end of September.[7] Ultimately the academic year was fixed at nine months, with short vacations at Christmas and Easter.[8] Campbell regarded authorship, for the holders of some, at least, of the chairs, as a positive disqualification.[9] Research was no part of the duty of a teacher.

It was recognised that it would at the start be necessary to guarantee salaries to the professors, and that there would always be some subjects which would attract too few students to be self-supporting, and for the first session the Council guaranteed £250 each to the professors of Clinical Medicine and Clinical Surgery and £300 each to the other professors,[10] but for the future and in the main they were to maintain themselves out of fees.[11]

[1] *Second Statement*, 18. [2] *Statement*, 13.

[3] *Ibid.*, 15; *Second Statement*, 12, 17, 26.

[4] *The Times*, 9 Feb., 1825, 4 a–b; *The New Monthly Magazine*, n.s. xiii, 1825, 415.

[5] *Statement*, 26.

[6] *The New Monthly Magazine*, n.s. xiii, 1825, 415.

[7] App. I, B, i, No. 7.

[8] *Statement*, 14–5; *Second Statement*, 6.

[9] *The New Monthly Magazine*, n.s. xiii, 1825, 415.

[10] Minutes, i, f. 187.

[11] *The Times*, 9 Feb., 1825, 4 a–b; *The New Monthly Magazine*, n.s. xiii, 1825, 414; *Statement*, 18.

From the first the institution was conceived as a teaching body. "The plan which I suggest," wrote Campbell, "is a great London University. Not a place for lecturing to people of both sexes (except as an appendage to the establishment), but of effectively and multifariously teaching, examining, exercising, and rewarding with honours in the liberal arts and sciences, the youth of our middling rich people, between the age of 15 or 16 and 20, or later if you please."[1]

The details of the curriculum were elaborated in a *Prospectus*, a *Statement*, and a *Second Statement*, issued respectively in May, 1826, July, 1827, and June, 1828. The draft of the *Prospectus* was the work of Sir James Mackintosh. It was recommitted, together with a report from the Education Committee, to Mackintosh, Campbell, Mill, and Warburton. The revised draft, again the work of Mackintosh, was sent to the Education Committee, which consisted of Birkbeck, Brougham, Campbell, Dudley and Ward, Gregory, Grote, Lansdowne, Mackintosh, Mill, convener and one of the most active members, and Warburton.[2] After revision, it was circulated to the Council, and was then again worked over by Mackintosh and Brougham.[3] The *Statement* was prepared by Horner and revised by Mill and Tooke.[4] The *Second Statement* was drawn up by the Education Committee,[5] of which in 1828 Campbell and Mackintosh ceased to be members, and to which Sandon, Denman, and Lushington were then added.[6]

It was proposed that there should be no entrance examination, but it was arranged that there should be senior and junior classes in Latin, Greek, and mathematics, and that admission to the senior class should only be granted if upon examination it was found that the student was proficient

[1] *The Times*, 9 Feb., 1825, 4 a–b.

[2] Minutes, i, ff. 3–4, 6.

[3] *Ibid.*, i, ff. 6, 7, 12, 14, 15, 23, App., ff. 5–6; London University, Minutes of Committees, Education Committee, 27 Apr., 1826, 3 May, 1826.

[4] Minutes, i, ff. 94, 96, 100.

[5] *Ibid.*, i, ff. 141, 168, 172, 178, 182.

[6] *Ibid.*, i, f. 156.

in the work of the junior. The junior class was to be suited to those "possessed of that elementary knowledge which boys who leave school at fourteen or fifteen years of age have generally acquired."[1] Students were to be entirely free to choose their own course of study,[2] but it was proposed to grant certificates of proficiency,[3] to be entitled to which it would be necessary either to follow a prescribed course,[4] or, if any part of it were to be omitted, to obtain exemption by previous examination,[5] but the terms upon which such certificates would be granted were left rather vague.[6]

The first sketch of the courses which the university would offer appeared in the *Prospectus* of May, 1826.[7] A list of professorships which corresponds very closely with the chairs filled in October, 1828, was published in *The New Monthly Magazine*[8] in August, 1826. It appeared in the daily Press as an advertisement for applicants in December, 1826.[9] A full syllabus was included in the *Second Statement*,[10] and various supplementary lists of classes were issued before work was begun in the first session.[11] It was at first suggested that there should be three departments of science, literature, and the arts, and a medical school.[12] In the *Statement* the courses were classified as "the essential parts of a liberal education," "those which may be considered more in the light of ornamental accomplishment," and "professional education." Geology and Mineralogy, Botany, and Zoology were classed as ornamental accomplishments with Italian, Spanish, German, and Oriental Literature, although Botany had also its place among the studies of the medical profession.[13] There was

[1] *Statement*, 13–4; *Second Statement*, 5.
[2] *The New Monthly Magazine*, n.s. xiv, 1825, 10–1; *Statement*, 13, 14.
[3] App. I, B, i, No. 22.
[4] *Second Statement*, 5–6, 20–2.
[5] *Statement*, 14.
[6] *Second Statement*, 26–8.
[7] App. I, B, i, No. 22.
[8] *The New Monthly Magazine*, n.s. xviii, 1826, 331–2.
[9] *The Morning Chronicle*, 27 Dec., 1826, 1 a.
[10] Pp. 32–163.
[11] *Cf.* App. I, B, i.
[12] *The Times*, 6 June, 1825, 4 a; *The New Monthly Magazine*, n.s. xiv, 1825, 7.
[13] *Statement*, 10–1.

no clear arrangement of faculties prior to the opening of the university.

Lectures were to begin at 8 o'clock in the morning.[1] The normal working day ended at 4 p.m., but the courses on English Law and in Surgery were to be given in the evening.[2]

Particular stress was laid upon legal and medical education.[3] The university would enjoy peculiar privileges by virtue of its location in London. "By the formation of an University in this metropolis," it was said, "the useful intercourse of theory with active life will be facilitated."[4] This local advantage would be specially important in the study of law and medicine, for which satisfactory provision was not, and indeed could not, be made in a small provincial town.[5] It was pointed out that the great body of solicitors received no university education, and it was hoped to attract "the gentlemen who hold places in the offices of Government."[6] In medical education it was recognised that London already held a high place in the teaching of surgery, but it was said that the teaching of medicine was very much inferior. It was sought to explain this by the fact that the surgeon received large fees for important operations, and could spare time to lecture while he kept up an extensive practice, but that the work of a physician in a large practice left him no time for teaching, and the income which he derived from it made it difficult to offer remuneration sufficient to persuade him to give up any part of his time to lecturing to students. In consequence many eminent London physicians had been trained elsewhere,[7] and the education of surgeon-apothecaries

[1] *Statement*, 15; *Second Statement*, 11, 14; App. I, B, i, No. 63.

[2] *Second Statement*, 12, 14.

[3] *The Times*, 6 June, 1825, 4 a; *Statement*, 8–9, 15–6; *Second Statement*, 23–6; App. I, B, i, No. 22.

[4] App. I, B, i, No. 22; *cf. The Edinburgh Review*, xlii, 1825, 355.

[5] *Statement*, 8; *The Monthly Repository*, n.s. i, 1827, 168; *London Medical Gazette*, ii, 600 (11 Oct., 1828); *Parliamentary Debates*, n.s. xiii, 1035; F. C. Parry: *The Dissenters and the Universities; or, the Civil Rights of the Dissenters most effectually secured by the Erection of a New University*, 1835, 20–1.

[6] *Statement*, 8–9.

[7] *The New Monthly Magazine*, n.s. xiv, 1825, 2, 4.

suffered from the undue importance which consequently attached to surgery, and had other defects peculiar to itself.[1] In the *Statement* it was announced, " An Hospital capable of containing a sufficient number of patients to afford opportunities of Clinical Practice, both medical and surgical, and of illustrative Lectures, will be provided, as being an essential requisite of a Medical School; and a connexion will be found with some Dispensary at a convenient distance." [2] At one stage it was proposed to form a clinical hospital by union with the Fever Hospital in the parish of St. Pancras.[3] At the beginning of 1828 there was a plan on foot for uniting the university and the Middlesex Hospital.[4] This was followed by talk of raising a fund for the erection of a hospital,[5] but the Council had to content itself in the meantime with " an arrangement by which pupils will have it in their power to witness the Medical and Surgical practice in the Middlesex Hospital," with the delivery of lectures on Clinical Medicine and Clinical Surgery at the university, and with the establishment of a dispensary.[6]

A cardinal feature of the university was that it was non-residential. By that means, and by that alone, were the founders able to circumvent one of the most obstinate of the difficulties which stood in their way, the disputed question of religious instruction. It has already been seen that at the outset there was a threat that Campbell's plan might be diverted, to issue in the creation of a frankly sectarian institution. The defeat of that desire cost the support of the more zealous dissenters, led by Edward Irving,[7] but their secession did not end the trouble. The Evangelicals sought to secure

[1] *The New Monthly Magazine*, n.s. xiv, 1825, 3–4. [2] P. 15.

[3] Minutes, i, ff. 118, 125, 128, 131, 133.

[4] *Letters of Sir Charles Bell*, 1870, 299–300.

[5] *The Morning Chronicle*, 28 Feb., 1828, 3 c; *Gentleman's Magazine*, xcviii, pt. i, 1828, 290; Minutes, i, f. 155.

[6] *Second Statement*, 15–6; Minutes, i, ff. 174, 176, 178, 184, 185, 195–7; *Cal.*, 1831, 184; *cf. The Lancet, MDCCCXXVIII–IX*, ii, 748–9; *MDCCCXXIX–XXX*, i, 10.

[7] *The Love Letters of Thomas Carlyle and Jane Welsh.* Edited by Alexander Carlyle, 2 v., 1909, ii, 176–7; Mrs. Oliphant: *The Life of Edward Irving*, 1864, 129; *Memoir of . . . Thomas Wilson*, 1846, 431–2.

at least the study of the evidences of Christianity, and ultimately provision was made for theological teaching in connection with the university which reawakened sectarian jealousies, and there was a prolonged contest over the appointment to the chair of Philosophy.

The university was based upon the principle that there were not to be "any religious tests, or doctrinal forms, which would oppose a barrier to the education of any sect among His Majesty's subjects," [1] and the Dissenters were persuaded to recognise that it was "utterly impossible to teach theology in a University intended to comprehend persons of all sects," [2] and agreed even to withdraw a declaration that "nothing contrary to revealed religion should be allowed in the instructions in the proposed University or College." [3] The continued residence of the students in their own homes was a necessary corollary. It was not proposed that they should have a purely secular education, but that the university should attend to their secular education alone, and that their religious instruction should be left to their parents and to themselves.

In 1825 it was suggested that there might be theological lectures "on any subject not hostile to the Established Religion, and not interfering much with sectarian differences —as, for instance, on *Biblical Literature*, or on *the Evidences of Christianity*—the attendance at such Lectures to be perfectly optional, and the whole regulation of them to be under the control of the University." [4] It is an indication of the influence of Wilberforce.[5]

In 1827 the Council, after "many long and anxious deliberations," declared that it "found it impossible to unite the free admission to persons of all religious denominations with any plan of theological instruction, or any form of religious discipline," [6] but still went so far as to insist that the boarding-house keepers whom it entered upon its register

[1] *The Times*, 6 June, 1825, 4 a. [2] *Ibid.*, 9 June, 1825, 2 e.
[3] *Ibid.*, 11 June, 1825, 3 c.
[4] *The Edinburgh Review*, xlii, 1825, 505.
[5] R. I. and S. Wilberforce: *The Life of William Wilberforce*, 5 v., 1839, v, 256–7. [6] *Statement*, 13.

and to whom it thus accorded its patronage should "require their boarders to be regular in their attendance at some place of public worship."[1] In 1828, even this regulation was abandoned.[2]

The controversy flared up again after the incorporation of what is now the University of London, but that is another story. An attempt was made to revive it in the college in 1842.[3]

If religious instruction was to be the care of "natural guardians," it seemed legitimate to afford those persons the aid which they might need, and, where they were absent, to stand *in loco parentis*. There appeared accordingly the following advertisement:

"We, the undersigned Professors in the University of London, who are Clergymen of the Established Church, having from the period of our appointment entertained the intention of providing religious instruction for those students who are members of our Church, do hereby Give Notice, That final arrangements have been at length made, with the full approbation of the Council, for that purpose. An Episcopal Chapel has been purchased contiguous to the University, to be called 'The University Chapel,' where accommodation will be afforded to the students for attendance at divine service, and where a Course of Divinity Lectures will be regularly delivered during the Academical Session. . . ."[4]

It was signed by Dale, Lardner, and Williams. It caused much annoyance to "A Dissenter," said by Place to have been Bowring.[5] He charged the Council with a breach of trust. He complained that they had taken religious opinion into account in appointments which they had made, that they had boasted of their "choice of *Church-of-Englandists*," and that now they had sanctioned Church of England teaching.

[1] *Statement*, 23.

[2] *Second Statement*, 30; *cf.* P. A. Bruce: *History of the University of Virginia*, 1819–1919, 5 v., N.Y., 1920–2, ii, 361–71.

[3] *Ann. Rept.*, 1842, 4.

[4] *The Times*, 27 May, 1828, 2 c; *cf. The British Critic, Quarterly Theological Review and Ecclesiastical Record*, vii, 1830, 486–92.

[5] Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 27,824, f. 305.

He demanded that they should retrace their steps.[1] He was answered by Grote, who argued that no divine appointed as a professor was thereby precluded from preaching or from lecturing on theology outside the university, that it was desirable that independent provision for religious teaching of all kinds should be made in the neighbourhood of the university, and that the teachers now approved were the first to be approved because they had been the first to apply.[2] On the 8th of July, Dr. Cox and the Rev. Joseph Fletcher, " being Protestant Dissenting Ministers," announced a plan for delivering lectures in the neighbourhood of the university " on the Evidences and General Principles of Revelation ; the Elements of Biblical Literature, and the Leading Facts of Ecclesiastical History." [3] Four days before, the Anglicans had established a Theological Institution. They failed ultimately to secure a chapel in the neighbourhood of the university, but they established a Lectureship in Divinity, to which Dale was appointed, and took temporary premises at 62 Gower Street. In the session 1828–9, for various reasons, only part of the proposed course was delivered. In 1829 the Institution adopted a scheme for the establishment of a residential Anglican college.[4] But these measures, although they were sufficient to give some offence to the Dissenters,[5] failed to satisfy the more zealous, and in the same year Wilberforce withdrew his support.[6]

The exclusion of formal theological teaching from the business of the university did not remove all the difficulties.

[1] *The Morning Herald*, 20 June, 1828, 3 b ; *The Morning Chronicle*, 30 June, 1828, 3 c.

[2] *The Morning Chronicle*, 26 June, 1828, 3 b ; *cf.* Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 27,824, f. 305.

[3] *Ibid.*, 8 July, 1828, 1 c ; Minutes, i, ff. 185–6.

[4] T. Dale : *University of London. An Introductory Lecture upon the Study of Theology and of the Greek Testament, delivered at the opening of the Theological Institute*, 1829, App.

[5] *The Monthly Repository*, n.s., iv, 1830, 53–4, 131 ; *The Times*, 25 Feb., 1830, 5 c–e.

[6] R. I. and S. Wilberforce: *The Life of William Wilberforce*, 5 v., 1839, v, 257 ; Viscountess Knutsford : *Life and Letters of Zachary Macaulay*, 1900, 451–2.

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If youth is protected from erroneous theological doctrine, it may still be corrupted by unsound philosophy. The proposal of Southwood Smith for the chair of Moral Philosophy was opposed by Zachary Macaulay on the ground of his heterodox opinions.[1] Grote was equally opposed to a sectarian appointment. As a consequence, when the university opened neither of the Philosophical chairs was filled.

[1] S. E. De Morgan: *Memoir of Augustus De Morgan*, 1882, 373.

CHAPTER III

PUBLIC OPINION

A HUNDRED years ago, London took more interest in its university than it does now. If the institution did not attract very much attention abroad, it was the familiar affair of the community in whose midst it was founded.

A few Sir Christopher Mowbrays, who were "not up to the nineteenth century," were simply incredulous.

> The Baronet "had no idea of 'liberal principles,' or anything else of that school. His most peculiar characteristic, is a singular habit which he has got of styling political economists, *French smugglers*. Nobody has ever yet succeeded in extracting a reason from him for this singular appellation, and even if you angle with the most exquisite skill for the desired definition, Sir Christopher immediately salutes you with a volley of oaths, and damns French Wines, Bible Societies, and Mr. Huskisson. Sir Christopher for half a century has supported in the senate, with equal sedulousness and silence, the constitution, and the corn laws; he is perfectly aware of 'the present perilous state of the country,' and watches with great interest all 'the plans and plots' of this enlightened age. The only thing which he does not exactly comprehend, is the London University. This affair really puzzles the worthy gentleman, who could as easily fancy a county member not being a freeholder, as an University not being at Oxford or Cambridge. Indeed, to this hour the old gentleman believes that the whole business is 'a damnationed hoax'; and if you tell him, that, far from the plan partaking of the visionary nature he conceives, there are actually four acres of very valuable land purchased near White Conduit House for the erection; and that there is little apprehension, that in the course of a century, the wooden poles which are now stuck about the ground, will be fair, and flourishing, as the most leafy bowers of New College gardens, the old gentleman looks up to heaven, as if determined not to be taken in, and leaning back in his chair, sends forth a sceptical and smiling 'No! no! no! that won't do.'" [1]

[1] [B. Disraeli]: *Vivian Grey*, 5 v., 1826, i, Bk. II, c. xv, 222–4.

The intelligent opposition in its crudest form finds expression in Potter's *Letter to the Right Hon. Robert Peel*,[1] although its author subsequently recanted and became a student of the university.[2] To give a university education to those for whom the new university was designed was not a thing to be desired.

"Our youth, instead of looking forward with pleasure to the result of long years of laborious industry—to that reward which, in this country, must crown the efforts of every judicious merchant, will be infatuated by the baseless fabric of imagined literary fame; and, like the man who plucked the flowers, which were hanging most beauteously within his grasp, instead of attempting the more arduous task of reaping the fruit, will find that their chase has been nothing but vanity, and curse the fates which allured them into the specious desire of outward decoration." [3]

And this desertion of their proper line of life would be accompanied by the loss of their religion:

"it was the boast of this nation, that she encouraged schools and places for instruction, where her own unvarnished religion was permitted to shine forth with unsullied splendour, and where the slightest mockery of her inviolate doctrines could be met with abhorrence and detestation; and that, in all her establishments where the Protestant religion was inculcated at all, it was inculcated *exclusively*. But if this Institution be permitted, it will be far different; there, every sect is to be mingled together indiscriminately,—every doctrine suffered to range at large without that simplest, easiest check of all, being applied for the preservation of her own children in purity and virtue—instruction in the Protestant religion." [4]

The argument had sufficient answer in the mock proclamation prefixed to the *First Book for the Instruction of Students in the King's College*.[5]

[1] [J. P. Potter]: *Letter to the Right Hon. Robert Peel in answer to Thomas Campbell Esq.'s suggestions on a new London University*, 1826.

[2] Corres., No. 1962; Register of Students, iii, f. 101.

[3] [J. P. Potter]: *Letter to the Right Hon. Robert Peel in answer to Thomas Campbell Esq.'s suggestions on a new London University*, 1826, 32; *cf. Observations on the Probable Failure of the London University, and Thoughts on the Present System of Education at Cambridge. By a Member of the University*, 1825, 2–3, 27–9.

[4] [J. P. Potter], *op. cit.*, 36.

[5] *First Book for the Instruction of Students in the King's College. By Order of a Committee.* London: Printed and published by B. Steill, 14, Paternoster Row [n.d.].

"**Whereas**, it hath been represented to us that a number of factious and evil-minded persons, have wickedly, maliciously, and traitorously conspired together to bring into contempt and disrepute certain ancient Laws and Usages . . .

And whereas, this has been done under the false and futile pretext of founding a University or Seminary of Learning, which should render the Youth of this Metropolis as virtuous and enlightened as the sons of our Nobility and Clergy, who, through the paternal prudence and Christian foresight of their friends, have been enabled to partake of the advantages, peculiar to those *venerable* and *immaculate* seats of learning and piety, our Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

And whereas, such daring innovations have a tendency to disparage the dignity of the Crown, to obscure the brilliancy of the Aristocracy, and to lessen the influence and injure the interests of the venerable the Hierarchy of the Protestant Church—by instilling vain and self-sufficient notions into young persons and others, destined by Divine Providence to move in *inferior* circles of society ; and by tending to set at nought and abrogate the good old doctrine, inculcated by the Catechism of our holy Church, of " ordering *themselves* lowly and reverently to all *their* betters." . . .

These are to Require and Command, all and every of the faithful and well-disposed inhabitants of this religious and happy realm, as much as in them *lies*, to discountenance, obstruct, hinder, put down, and render null and void, such audacious and ungodly attempts to pervert the principles, and corrupt the morals of the rising generation. . . ."

But there were other, and more considerable, grounds of objection. The new university was thought to threaten certain vested interests, and it was dominated by new philosophical and political doctrines which were a legitimate subject of debate. To propose to grant degrees was to invade the privileges of Oxford and Cambridge. To offer medical education was to trespass upon the ground occupied by the existing medical schools. A joint stock company had no title to arrogate to itself the name of a university. The exclusion of religious teaching was shocking, was argued by a false etymology to make the name of a " university " wrong even as a popular description, and was regarded as the signal of a far-reaching and deplorable departure from established modes of thought. It was added, since a good cause will help a lame argument, that to educate youth in the

metropolis was to court their physical decline and their moral ruin.

The opposition of Oxford and Cambridge, and of the medical profession, falls more properly to be discussed in connection with the history of incorporation, and may be set aside for the moment. The foundation of King's College in 1828 is more important for the influence it had upon the concession of the power to grant degrees, than for its illustration of the opposition to the neglect of religious teaching, and its history may likewise be postponed.

The constitutional objection was taken by the *Quarterly Review*.

> "There was . . . a curious and threefold impropriety in assuming the title of University for a *single* college, which the *crown* had not created, and from which the science of *divinity* was especially to be excluded! Any set of men might as well affect to constitute themselves a corporation in an unchartered town, as these persons to set up a University!" [1]

It is what the university itself was to teach the world to call sound Austinian doctrine. He who would disembarrass the state of any competing claims to the obedience of its citizens must insist, to the best of his ability, that both in law and in fact a corporation is made and does not grow. He cannot allow that a university should call a fool he whom the state calls wise. He must insist that the right to call names resides in the sovereign and that the state will not stultify itself. It will follow that the assent of the sovereign is necessary to the erection of a university, and that to grant degrees without incorporation is illegal.[2] To seek to do so in effect without doing so in name is mere evasion. To take the name of a university without enjoying the powers is dishonest. The institution, it was therefore argued, should be called, what it was, a mere college.

But the *Quarterly* itself was not consistent, and the opposi-

[1] *The Quarterly Review*, xxxix, 1829, 128; *cf. London Medical Gazette*, ii, 1828, 602 b.

[2] Sir W. Blackstone: *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, 16th ed., 1825, i, 471.

tion as a whole was still less so. If it was argued that a university was a corporation, it was also frequently argued that a university meant a place of "universal" education; and false etymology provided a new stick with which to beat the promoters. It must be a strange universality which left out divinity.

"In the instance of the London University . . . the name of an University is assumed. By this very name, in the common and known acceptation of it, pretension is made to educate youth generally, to form their minds to all useful and valuable knowledge; and still one branch is omitted, the most useful, the most valuable, the most important of all; that which ought to be the first thought of, the most dwelt upon, the last neglected. If no pretension had been held forth of founding a *system* of general education; if the institution had been termed, not an University, but simply a college for lectures on particular branches of learning, as classical literature, chemistry, or mathematical science, the omission of theology would not have been noticed in the same degree, and the objection now urged would have had small foundation. It is to the exclusion from a *system* of education, of that which is the most important part of all education, and which ought to be made the groundwork of the whole, that the objection applies." [1]

A weightier charge was brought against the university by the chaplain to the Mayoralty of London.[2] The arguments of the Rev. T. W. Lancaster are strongly tinctured by the view that religion is an instrument of government and that secular education is only to be condemned because it is politically useless. "No civil society can, without the sanctions of religion, maintain the obligations of morality among its members." [3] It is necessary to provide a "national

[1] *A Letter to the Rt. Hon. Robert Peel, on the Subject of the University of London. By Christianus*, 1828, 9, i.e. George D'Oyly; *cf.* George D'Oyly, D.D., F.R.S.: *Sermons, delivered at the Parish Church of St. Mary, Lambeth. With a Memoir by his Son*, 2 v., 1847, xxxvii; *cf. Quarterly Review*, xxxiii, 1825, 271–2; xxxix, 1829, 129, 132–5; W. Sewell: *A Second Letter to a Dissenter on the Opposition of the University of Oxford to the Charter of the London College*, 1834, 9; *The British Critic, Quarterly Theological Review and Ecclesiastical Record*, i, 1827, 175–211; iii, 1828, 485–93.

[2] T. W. Lancaster: *The Alliance of Education and Civil Government; with Strictures on the University of London*, 1828.

[3] *Ibid.*, 21.

religious education," [1] and to exclude religion from education is to exclude " the only thing, for the sake of which education, as a national measure, can justly be considered needful." [2] " Religion is the only part of education which is essentially *needful* to society." [3] He would appear at first sight to belong to that school which makes the church a department of public worship and religion a civil discipline, between whom and the Utilitarians the only difference is the opinion which they held about the usefulness of religious teaching to the state. But in the last analysis his doctrine goes very much deeper and cuts at the root of Utilitarianism. He refuses to reject " moral sense," and he will not admit the absolutism of the state. Within the municipal sphere the highest power of the state may be exempted from all coercion of human laws and from all responsibility to man, but " it is the most valuable security to the liberty of the subject, that they, to whom their obedience is due, should be themselves sensible of the obedience they owe " to a higher law,[4] and in the point of view of international relations he pounces with a sure instinct upon the passage in Austin's *Syllabus* published in the *Second Statement*, wherein it is said that " As adopted by any given country, and enforced by its tribunals, ' Law of Nations ' is a branch of *Law* though only of *municipal* Law. But since Nations are not amenable to a common superior, and therefore are not obnoxious to a *legal* sanction, International Law, apart from such adoption, is not Law, but a department of Morals." [5] " This is, if I understand it," he writes, " tearing up the foundation of all that has hitherto been regarded by the world as firm and established." [6] The omission of theological teaching is not merely an impropriety. It is the signal of the prevalence of a new school of thought. Opposition to it does not arise from the enjoyment of vested interests, neither is it obscurantist, nor merely captious. The difference of opinion is profound.

[1] T. W. Lancaster: *The Alliance of Education and Civil Government; with Strictures on the University of London*, 1828–29.

[2] *Ibid.*, 34. [3] *Ibid.*, 39. [4] *Ibid.*, 12.

[5] *Second Statement*, 93.

[6] T. W. Lancaster, *op. cit.*, 75; *cf.* 74–7.

Besides serious criticism, the promoters had to face much banter. Campbell himself was fair game. He was not an effective controversialist, and he was very sensitive. *The Times* did not take an unfriendly view of the project, but it expressed a very poor opinion of the letter to Brougham.

"The letter in another column, containing a proposal for a Metropolitan University, will command considerable attention," it wrote, "on account of the names of the writer (the author of *The Pleasures of Hope*) and of the distinguished individual to whom it is addressed; but we must say, that independent of the interest attached to such names, there is very little in the letter itself worthy of public attention. We do not mean to deny that there are some hints thrown out which may be useful to the class to whom they are particularly addressed; but if we look at the statement as the description of a great plan, we must pronounce it at once crude in conception, and meagre in development: indeed, we feel that such a want of precision can only proceed from the writer having but a very imperfect idea of his own project. There is also a levity in the style, which, added to its want of distinctness, makes the epistle unworthy of the subject and of the writer . . . "[1]

The *London Magazine*, reviewing the *Suggestions*, said the same thing with more spite and less decorum:

"A very fair sort of round-hand exercise, a little slobbered here and there, and occasionally perplexed by false concords, and confused by misused tenses; but taking it altogether it is a very creditable performance . . . [it] has indeed a mimyish air, yet it is translateable into very good sense; and had Campbell sent it to us, we would have stripped it of its twaddle, corrected the slip-slop, amended the grammar, and made of it a highly respectable looking concern . . . there is sad work . . . with the tenses, but let that pass; a few weeks in the new University, under the grammatical professor, will set all that right."[2]

The most vociferous of the opponents was *John Bull*. Much of its comment is gutter-snipe wit. It reported the confirmation by the proprietors of the purchase of the site.

"The Rev. Mr. Cox? then read what were called the minutes, which occupied more than an hour; in which the Committee stated,

[1] *The Times*, 9 Feb., 1825, 3 e.

[2] *London Magazine*, n.s. ii, 1825, 36, 37, 39.

that having, by a careful study of *Mercator's* chart, and other authentic documents, together with a series of lunar observations, discovered a large space of mud and nastiness lying near the end of Gower-street, bounded on the north by the New-road, on the south by St. Giles's, on the west by Carmarthen-street, and on the east by a stagnant pond, they had purchased the said unknown tract of dirt for thirty thousand pounds . . ." [1]

Its account of the ceremony of laying the foundation-stone was that "one fool poured a little drop of salad-oil into one hole, another goose doled half-a-dozen wheat-ears into another hole, a third, wasted a glass of wine over the dirty mess; and then, after bottling up a few penny-pieces as memorials of the great day, the illustrious squad got up out of the mud, and went to a tavern to dine." [2] It scoffed at the idea that Oxford or Cambridge should feel jealous.

"A humbug joint stock subscription school for Cockney boys, without the power of granting degrees or affording honours or distinctions, got up in the bubble season in shares sold (if they even *are* sold) by stockbrokers, and billbrokers, and Jew-brokers, just like the joint stock Pawnbroking Company, or the Arigua, or the Iron or the Smoke Company, or any other such company—to injure or interfere with Oxford or Cambridge? Why, Oxford and Cambridge might as well be envious of, or alarmed at, the opening of MR. TICKLEPITCHER'S academy for young gentlemen at Kentish Town, or MR. GRINDER'S seminary at Bethnal Green. The influence of the Cockney College will extend only over the sons and nephews and first cousins of the shareholders, who will be glad to get 'hedication' for the youngsters in return for their 'instalments,' and rejoice to take out their capital in kind." [3]

But besides this and much more as crude and cruder, the journal contained an admirable prose skit and some excellent verse, some, if not all, of which was the work of R. H. Barham and T. E. Hook. It is known that Barham wrote *Stinkomalee Triumphans*,[4] and Hook *The Cockney College. An Invitation*

[1] *John Bull*, v, 412 c–3 a (25 Dec., 1825).
[2] *Ibid.*, vii, 142 a (7 May, 1827).
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*, viii, 125 b (20 April, 1828); *The Life and Letters of the Rev. Richard Harris Barham*, 2 v., 1870, i, 146–50.

to Stinkomalee.[1] There are, besides, verses called *Stinkomalee*,[2] and *The Cockney University*,[3] and a prose skit with the same title.[4]

The readers of *John Bull* were not squeamish, and *Stinkomalee* makes rather broad fun of the insalubrious history of the site. *The Cockney University* and *The Cockney College* are variations on the theme that the university would be, as the Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford suggested, "more like a low school than a College, or an University,"[5] and would take people out of their proper stations.

"Come bustle, my neighbours, give over your labours,
Leave digging, and delving, and churning:
New lights are preparing to set you a staring,
And fill all your noddles with learning.
Each Dustman shall speak, both in Latin and Greek,
And Tinkers beat Bishops in knowledge—
If the opulent tribe will consent to subscribe
To build up a new Cockney College.

. . . . . .

From a College like this what advantage must spring,
What strides will the people be taking;
Each cobbler will soon be as good as a KING,
And a KING, a thing hardly worth making:
The rising of some, and the fall of the rest,
Will bring things at last to their level;
And just as in FRANCE, which has suffered the test,
OLD ENGLAND will go to the *Devil*."[6]

Hook says the same thing with more elaboration:

"The tinkers soon shall worship Pan—while all the London shavers, Sirs,
Disdain the unread *Barbari*, their *quondam* friends;
The cobblers, at Minerva's lap, turn *sutors* for her favours, Sirs,
And leave un'tended, in their stalls, their soles and ends.

[1] *John Bull*, vi, 29 a (22 Jan., 1826); R. H. D. Barham: *The Life and Remains of Theodore Edward Hook*, 2 v., 1849, ii, 290–2.

[2] *John Bull*, v, 412 c–3 a (25 Dec., 1825).

[3] *Ibid.*, v, 221 c (10 July, 1825).

[4] *Ibid.*, v, 404 b–c (18 Dec., 1825).

[5] Rev. Dr. Lloyd to Peel, 25 May, 1825, Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 40,342, ff. 273–4.

[6] *The Cockney University*.

The milkmen publish scores of works on Blanco White and Paley,
The tailors talk false quantities, and scribble fustian daily,
The pastry-cooks to *Tartarus* consign their ice and jellies, Sirs,
And oyster-girls read *Milton's* works, or blasphemies by Shelley, Sirs,
Run, sweepers, run, 'tis now the time for lecturing,
Ev'ry man must learned be in these wise days." [1]

Barham's *Stinkomalee Triumphans* is compounded of a similar ridicule of popular education and caricature of the individual promoters.

"What precious fools 'the People' grew,
Their *Alma Mater* not in town—
The 'useful classes' hardly knew
Four was composed of two and two,
Until they learned it at the U-
niversity we've Got-in-town.

But now they're taught by JOSEPH HUME, by far the clev'rest Scot in town,
Their *Items* and their *Tottles* too—
Each may dissect his sister Sue,
From his instructions at the U-
niversity we've Got-in-town.
. . . . . ." [2]

The device of allocating professorships to prominent supporters of the project, already resorted to in the verses *The Cockney University*, is again used in the prose skit.

"COCKNEY UNIVERSITY

We perceive that on Saint Monday, *i.e.* to-morrow, a Meeting is to be held at a tavern in the Strand, to elect a Council for the Carmarthen-street University, at which shareholders must not vote, who have not paid twenty-five per cent. upon each respective share.

What a mess—what a mass of incongruities—a tavern meeting to elect a college council, for which share-holders in an university are to vote.

The council is composed of many excellent names . . . Some of these personages are buried in the 'palpable obscure,' but others shine

[1] *The Cockney College. An Invitation to Stinkomalee.*
[2] *Stinkomalee Triumphans.*

resplendent in their different spheres. To each of the council is to be allotted the controul of some particular department of literature and science—some are already appropriated.

The HON. JAMES ABERCROMBIE is to—'teach the young idea how to shoot,' in the school of honour—and to ground the young linen-drapers and men-milliners in the laws of chivalry, in which he will be assisted by his butler.

MR. ALEXANDER BARING is to initiate the young gentlemen in architecture and the principles of taste; however, this gentleman will not stand *a loan* in his endeavours to improve the minds of the graduates.

MR. HENRY BROUGHAM will inculcate the principles of subordination, respect for superiors, admiration of virtue, and the regulation of temper; and give lectures upon the cultivation of silk in cold climates.

THOMAS CAMPBELL, ESQ. is to incite the students to literary pursuits, and lay open the pages of the *New Monthly Magazine*, of which he is editor, for their publication.

VISCOUNT DUDLEY and WARD will lecture on Platonic Philosophy, and MR ISAAC LYONS GOLDSMID on the nature and merits of Christianity.

DR. OLYMPUS GREGORY will instruct the junior fishmongers in the science of throwing shells, and MR. GEORGE GROTE will give lessons on the most graceful mode of standing behind a counter.

JOSEPH HUME, ESQ. will lecture on Surgery, Political Economy, Agriculture, Pneumatics, Acoustics, Mineralogy, the Art of Paper Making, Steam Engines, Coach Building, Astronomy, Hydraulics, the Fine Arts, Brotherly Love, Matrimony, Pearl Fishing, Pig Feeding, Crockery, the Sublime and Beautiful, the Art of Making Watering Pots, the Circulating Medium, the Advantages of Peppermint Water, the Manufacturing of Saddles and Pouch Belts, the probability of a Discovery of a North West Passage, the Economy of India Bazaars, the Natural History of Grain, the Combination Laws, and Things in General.

The MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE will lecture on Finance, and the advantages of a Whig Ministry which doubled the Income Tax under his Lordship's own direction . . .

MR. ZACHARY MACAULAY will lecture on Black Juries, Duck-slaughter, and the salubrity of Sierra Leone, the Origin and modern uses of Gunpowder, Humanity to our Fellow Creatures, and the virtues of MR. BABINGTON and MR. MACAULAY, jun.

SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH on the principles of MEUM and TUUM, and on Biography, 1st Course—DR. PARR, MR. JAMES PERRY, and MR. GERALD.

JAMES MILL, Esq. will read thirty-four pages of the WESTMINSTER REVIEW every Monday.

The DUKE OF NORFOLK will take charge of the Protestants. LORD JOHN RUSSELL will lecture on the Drama, and MR. BENJAMIN SHAW will explain the Rights and Privileges of the Underwriters at Lloyd's Coffee-house.

The remaining five gentlemen will play Short Whist in the back parlour, with one, sitting out ready to cut in.

. . . . . .

Conceive if this folly ever should be matured, and we doubt it, for if common sense come not to the aid of the only men who can support the undertaking, the fate of all Joint Stock Companies will probably overtake it. Conceive a mother describing her son as having had an University education, and just come from College—'Which University, Madam,' says a deeply interested friend, 'Oxford or Cambridge?'—'No Sir,' says the lady, 'No. 37, Upper Carmarthen-street, Tottenham Court Road'—the man stares—the lady continues—'Don't you know it? Dear me, it's the second door from the Lansdowne Arms, at the corner, on the left hand as you go out of the New Road.'

'Can a man graduate there, Madam?' says the gentleman—

'Sir!' says the lady—

'I mean, do they give degrees,' replies the gentleman—

'Oh, no,' says the lady, 'they don't do anything by degrees Sir there, they learn everything at once in Carmarthen-street.'

. . . . . ."[1]

More was written against the university than for it. The versifier of *John Bull* was answered in kind in Praed's well-known lines published in *The Morning Chronicle*,[2] the *Discourse delivered by a College Tutor at a Supper Party, July* 1, 1825.

"Ye Dons and ye Doctors, ye Provosts and Proctors,
Who are paid to monopolise knowledge,
Come, make opposition, by vote and petition
To the radical infidel College;
Come, put forth your powers, in aid of the towers
Which boast of their Bishops and Martyrs,
And arm all the terrors of privileged errors,
Which live by the wax of their Charters.

[1] *John Bull*, v, 404 b–c (18 Dec., 1825).

[2] *The Morning Chronicle*, 19 July, 1825, 3 c.

Let MACKINTOSH battle with CANNING and VATTEL,
Let BROUGHAM be a friend to the Niggers,
BURDETT cure the Nation's misrepresentations,
And HUME make a figure in figures ;
But let them not babble of Greek to the rabble,
Nor teach the Mechanics their letters ;
The labouring classes were born to be asses,
And not to be aping their betters.
. . . . . ."

But the promoters, while they had been severe critics of the older establishments, once their own scheme was launched, although they wasted some ink and paper in proving that London was not more unhealthy nor more immoral than other seats of learning, confined themselves for the more part to the statement of their plans. *The Morning Chronicle* was their principal organ. *The Times*, without being an advocate, was not unfriendly.[1] Almost the only polemical writings on behalf of the new university, apart from Campbell's and from anything there might be in the official statements, were three articles in the *Edinburgh Review*,[2] the second from the pen of Macaulay. It was "very much talked of," Whishaw said, but he "thought it though very spirited and able . . . violent and exaggerated, and little calculated to serve the cause it espouses." [3]

Macaulay argued that the new university did not seek to compete with the old foundations, and that they had many defects from which it would be free.

"The new Institution did not aspire to participate in the privileges which had been so long monopolized by those ancient corporations. It asked for no franchises, no lands, no advowsons. It did not interfere with that mysterious scale of degrees on which good churchmen look with as much veneration as the Patriarch on the ladder up which he saw the angels ascending. It did not ask permission to search houses with warrants, or to take books from publishers without paying for them. There was to be no melodramatic pageantry, no ancient cere-

[1] *Cf. The Times*, 26 June, 1828, Supplement, 3 a ; 2 Oct., 1828, 2 c.

[2] *Edinburgh Review*, xlii, 1825, 346–67 (Aug.) ; xliii, 1826, 315–41 (Feb.) ; xlviii, 1828, 235–58 (Sept.).

[3] Lady Seymour : *The "Pope" of Holland House*, 1906, 252.

monial, no silver mace, no gowns either black or red, no hoods either of fur or of satin, no public orator to make speeches, which nobody hears, no oaths sworn only to be broken. Nobody thought of emulating the cloisters, the organs, the painted glass, the withered mummies, the busts of great men, and the pictures of naked women, which attract visitors from every part of the Island to the banks of Isis and Cam. The persons whose advantage was chiefly in view belonged to a class of which very few ever find their way to the old colleges." [1] The new University would be free from many of the defects of the old foundations. "It cannot cry up one study or cry down another. It has no means of bribing one man to learn what it is of no use to him to know, or of exacting a mock attendance from another who learns nothing at all. To be prosperous, it must be useful." [2]

"We would not be too sanguine," he continued. "But there are signs of these times, and principles of human nature, to which we trust as firmly as ever any ancient astrologer trusted to the rules of his science Judging from these, we will venture to cast the horoscope of the infant Institution. We predict, that the clamour by which it has been assailed will die away,—that it is destined to a long, a glorious, and a beneficent existence,—that, while the spirit of its system remains unchanged, the details will vary with the varying necessities and facilities of every age,—that it will be the model of many future establishments—that even those haughty foundations which now treat it with contempt, will in some degree feel its salutary influence,—and that the approbation of a great people, to whose wisdom, energy and virtue, its exertions will have largely contributed, will confer on it a dignity more imposing than any which it could derive from the most lucrative patronage, or the most splendid ceremonial." [3]

The foundation of the university did not attract much attention abroad. It found support in India, by the influence of Hume and through the good offices of Lord William Bentinck.[4] It was noticed in Vienna,[5] and Mrs. Grote declared that it had made a stir upon the Continent.[6] But Niebuhr had but a poor opinion of its prospects,[7] and Hüber in saying

[1] *The Edinburgh Review*, xliii, 1826, 316. [2] *Ibid.*, 340. [3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Statement*, 28–9; Minutes, i, ff. 110, 118; *Morning Post*, 24 July, 1827, 3 c; *Ann. Rept.*, 1828, 9; *The Times*, 25 June, 1828, 3 c; Corres., Box XLIII.

[5] *Cf.* Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 27,824, ff. 297, 298.

[6] Mrs. Grote: *The Personal Life of George Grote*, 1873, 56.

[7] L. R. Harley: *Francis Lieber: His Life and Political Philosophy*, N.Y., 1899, 48–9.

that the new University of London of 1836 had passed almost unnoticed in Germany, suggests that in German eyes the London University of 1826 had even less importance.[1] The Convention called in 1830 to prepare the establishment of a university in New York appointed a committee "to procure information respecting the history and present state of the 'London University,' and of 'King's College,' in London . . . particularly in regard to their organization, discipline, and mode of instruction. . . ."[2] But it seems that the committee never reported.

[1] V. A. Hüber: *Die Englischen Universitäten*, 2 v., Cassel, 1839, ii, 551 n.

[2] *Journal of the proceedings of a Convention . . . held in the . . . City of New York, Oct.* 1830, N.Y., 1831, 201–2.

LONDON UNIVERSITY, 1831.
From *The Public Buildings of Westminster Described.*
London: John Harris.

CHAPTER IV

THE START, 1828–1840: THE GENERAL DEPARTMENT

i. The Opening

The progress of the building during the summer of 1828 was such as to lead the Council to the decision that the university should open at the beginning of October.

By August the columns of the portico had been erected, but the capitals were yet lacking, there was no pediment, and no cupola, and the steps had not been built. The extreme ends of the principal façade were unfinished, but when completed were intended to " present pediments on a smaller scale, but similar in design to that over the portico." [1] A Special General Meeting of the Proprietors was held at the university on the 30th of September. Brougham was unable to be present. The chair was taken by Lushington. A report presented by the Council, detailing the most recent arrangements entered into, was received upon the motion of the Duke of Somerset. A vote of thanks to Lushington was moved by Hallam, and " the meeting then broke up, and the proprietors dispersed themselves through the different parts of their extensive building." [2] The Great Library, now the Arts Libraries, the Small Library, now the Mocatta Library, the Museum of Natural History, now the Science Library, and the Hall, now the General Library, were still incomplete.[3] The last work upon the dome and portico was not finished until the spring of 1829.[4] The interior was only completed in 1838.[5]

[1] *The Times*, 6 Aug., 1828, 3 e.

[2] *Rept.*, 30 Sept., 1828; *The Times*, 1 Oct., 1828, 3 d–e; *The Morning Chronicle*, 1 Oct., 1828, 3 a–b.

[3] *Ann. Rept.*, 1829, 3–4, 5–6; 1830, 5–7.

[4] *Ibid.*, 1829, 6; 1830, 6–7.

[5] *Ibid.*, 1838, 10; *St. James's Chronicle and General Evening Post*, 2 Aug., 1838, 3 e.

The medical school was opened on the 1st of October, as that was the usual time when the courses in other medical schools in London began. The other classes did not commence until later. The inaugural lecture was delivered in the Lower North Theatre[1] by Bell. He prepared it whilst he was away fishing in Wales.[2] It was heard by an audience "of the highest respectability and very numerous."[3] It was followed during the course of the month by introductory lectures by the other members of the medical school.[4] The lectures introductory to the courses in arts and science were given for the most part between the middle of October and the middle of November, but the professor of Botany did not deliver his until the end of April.[5]

[1] *The London Magazine*, 3rd series, ii, 1828, 432.

[2] *Letters of Sir Charles Bell*, 1870, 301–2, 304.

[3] *The Times*, 2 Oct., 1828, 3 a–b; *The Morning Chronicle*, 2 Oct., 1828, 2 a; *London Medical Gazette*, ii, 565–8 (4 Oct., 1828); *Lancet*, *MDCCCXXVIII–XXIX*, i, 8–10.

[4] *Gentleman's Magazine*, xcviii, pt. 2, 1828, 296.

[5] J. Conolly: *An Introductory Lecture delivered in the University of London, October 2, 1828. (On the Nature and Treatment of Diseases)*; R. E. Grant: *An Essay on the Study of the Animal Kingdom. Being an Introductory Lecture delivered . . . on the 23d* [sic] *of October*, 1828; T. Dale: *An Introductory Lecture delivered . . . on Friday, October 24*, 1828; D. Lardner: *A Discourse on the Advantages of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy, as Part of a general professional Education. Being an Introductory Lecture delivered . . . on the 28th October*, 1828; L. von Mühlenfels: *An Introductory Lecture delivered in the University of London, on Thursday, October 30*, 1828; G. Long: *An Introductory Lecture delivered . . . on Tuesday, November 4*, 1828; A. De Morgan: An Introductory Lecture delivered at the Opening of the Mathematical Classes in the University of London, Novr. 5th, 1828. [MS. in the college library]; H. Hurwitz: *An Introductory Lecture delivered . . . on Tuesday, November 11th*, 1828; A. A. Galiano: *An Introductory Lecture delivered . . . on Saturday, November 15*, 1828; J. Lindley: *An Introductory Lecture . . . on Thursday, April 30*, 1829; J. G. Smith: *The Claims of Forensic Medicine: being the Introductory Lecture delivered . . . on Monday, May 11*, 1829; for Davis see *The Times*, 4 Oct., 1828, 2 d; *The Morning Chronicle*, 4 Oct., 1828, 3 a–b; for Pattison, *The Morning Chronicle*, 6 Oct., 1828, 3 b; for Thomson and Watson, *ibid.*, 8 Oct., 1828, 3 a–b; for McCulloch, *ibid.*, 3 Feb., 1829, 3 a, 5 Feb., 1829, 3 a; for Panizzi, *ibid.*, 18 Feb., 1829, 3 b; for Austin, *cf. infra*, p. 97, n. 3.; no account has been found of the introductory lectures of Amos, Gilchrist, Key, Merlet, Rosen, or Turner; but for Amos *cf. An Introductory Lecture upon the Study of English Law, delivered . . . Monday, November 2*, 1829.

Brougham was enthusiastic.

"All the accounts I have (and they are daily, and from very opposite kinds of men, as Auckland, Lushington, Leonard Horner, Loch, &c.)," he wrote to Grey, "agree in this, that the delight of all who have been admitted was perfect: 700 or 800 were allowed to attend the opening lectures (including the students), and the rooms and halls were thrown open to them. The two first lectures, Bell's and Dr. Conolly's, have had the greatest success! and the entry of students at starting exceeds (the medical men say) anything before known in London, at the opening of a course—namely, 54. The professors and all concerned are therefore in the highest spirits, and we may consider the *medical* school as fairly launched. The *general* department will be much benefited by this success; but still I reckon on it being far less speedily in vogue, especially the Greek, Latin, and other elementary courses. However, all will, I am confident, be right in the end." [1]

The success of the medical school, wrote the *London Medical Gazette*, in October, 1828, seemed to be assured.[2]

The London University, reported Emily Eden in November, "has opened with most unexpected success. They have nearly 250 students entered already, and several of the Professors have distinguished themselves much in their introductory lectures, and there have been crowds sent away who were anxious to hear them. George [3] got your brother Charles [4] a place to hear a lecture the other day among the council." [5] "I rejoice in your Academic prosperity," Jeffrey wrote to Horner in February, 1829; "if you get creditably through this novitiate, I have no doubt that you will increase and multiply. I took a bet that you would have five hundred by the end of January, and I am inclined to take another that you will have seven hundred and fifty next January, and one thousand the year after." [6]

[1] 4 Oct., 1828, *The Life and Times of Henry Lord Brougham.* Written by Himself, 3 v., 1871, ii, 498–9.

[2] *London Medical Gazette*, ii, 600 (11 Oct., 1828).

[3] Lord Auckland.

[4] C. P. Villiers.

[5] 2 Nov., 1828, *Miss Eden's Letters.* Edited by Violet Dickinson, 1919, 170.

[6] *Memoir of Leonard Horner* . . . Edited by his daughter Katharine M. Lyell, 2 v., 1890, i, 243.

ii. The Regulations

The university was divided into a medical department and what was known as the General Department, comprising arts, laws, and science. The organisation of the medical school may more conveniently be considered at a later stage. For the general department the Council drew up a regular course of study, although it did not require that all students should follow it. It proposed that there should be sessional examinations upon which might be awarded certificates from the professor whose lectures the candidate had attended, and that it should be a rule that a certain number of such Professor's Certificates must be produced before a candidate might sit for the further examination upon which University Certificates would be granted.[1] But it contemplated also the attendance of persons of more mature years, who would not desire diplomas, and who would regulate the course of their studies for themselves, and it was at first prepared to allow students to sit for Professor's Certificates without having attended the professor's course and to admit as candidates for University Certificates those who had, at their own discretion, omitted to attend certain of the junior classes, on the understanding that the examination would nevertheless cover the subject-matter of the whole course.[2] These latter privileges, however, it withdrew.[3] There was at first no entrance examination and no age limit,[4] but it was recommended in 1831 that no one should be admitted under fifteen years of age, or, if admitted, then only after examination.[5] Fees were to be paid separately for each series of lectures. In addition there was a matriculation fee to be paid by all taking the full course and a similar but smaller fee for occasional students. Proprietors

[1] *Second Statement*, 5–6, 27 ; *Ann. Rept.*, 1829, 10–1, 1830, 11–2 ; *Cal.*, 1831, 3, 192.

[2] *Second Statement*, 20 ; *Opening of the University of London, for the Session* 1828–29, 1, 3 ; *The Times*, 1 Oct., 1828, 3 d ; *Cal.*, 1831, 1, 2.

[3] *Ann. Rept.*, 1829, 11 ; *Cal.*, 1831, 2 ; J. Elliotson: *Address, delivered at the Opening of the Medical Session in the University of London, October 1st*, 1832, 7, 15.

[4] *Opening of the University of London, for the Session* 1828–29, 1.

[5] *Cal.*, 1831, 1.

and donors had a right of nomination, which entitled the student to admission at a lower rate.

The regular course was first planned to cover four years. In 1831 it was announced that the General Certificate would be awarded at the end of three.[1] In the first and second years the student was to take Latin (10 hours a week in the first year, 8 in the second), Greek (10), and Mathematics (6 and 4½). In the second year Natural Philosophy might be substituted for mathematics. In both there might also be taken French, German, or English composition (4½ hours). The third year was given to Logic and the Philosophy of the Human Mind (10 hours a week), Chemistry (6), and Natural Philosophy (5), and there was an increase in the number of optional courses both in languages and science. In the fourth year came Jurisprudence (3 hours a week), Political Economy (4), Natural Philosophy (3), and Moral and Political Philosophy (9½), and History was added to the list of optional courses. Full details of the courses were issued before the opening of the first session.[2] The publication of a *Calendar* containing a statement of courses was begun in 1831, but was discontinued in the next year and not resumed until 1853.[3] The average annual cost for a student nominated by a Proprietor was £22 7*s*. 6*d*.[4]

The system of education, it will be observed, was that of instruction by lectures, with exercises and examinations. It was a deliberate departure from the method of the older universities, and was modelled upon the practice of Scotland.[5] *The Edinburgh Review* drew attention to the zeal of the professors and the prospect that you would get more lectures for your money at the university than at any other establishment.[6] It might even have seemed that there would be an approach to that state of affairs described by an admiring critic of the University of Bonn, where such was the laborious

[1] *Cal.*, 1831, 3. [2] *Cf. infra*, App. I, B, ii. [3] App. I, B, iii.

[4] *Second Statement*, 20–2; *Opening of the University of London, for the Session* 1828–29, 1–2.

[5] *Cf.* J. Yates: *Thoughts on the Advancement of Academical Education in England*, 2nd ed., 1827, 100–5, 112–3; *Lancet, MDCCCXXXII–XXXIII*, i, 224.

[6] *The Edinburgh Review*, xlvii, 1828, 254–5.

industry and perseverance of the professors that, with some partial intermissions, they lectured incessantly, either in public or in private, from seven in the morning until eight in the evening.[1] W. B. Carpenter, when a student, attended thirty-five lectures a week.[2] Coleridge called the place contemptuously a lecture-bazaar, and the system found an early critic within the walls of the university in De Morgan.[3]

iii. A Cambridge Group

Among the teachers chosen to fulfil this plan of education, there was distinguished for the predominant influence which it exercised upon the history of the college a group of Cambridge men composed of Augustus De Morgan, T. H. Key, George Long, and his successor in the chair of Greek, Henry Malden.

Youngest of the group, Augustus De Morgan is the outstanding figure in the first quarter-century of the life of the college.[4]

" Towering up intellectually," wrote Thomas Hodgkin, " above all his fellows, as I now look back upon him, rises the grand form of the mathematician, Augustus De Morgan, known, I suppose to each succeeding generation of his pupils as ' Gussy.' A stout and tall figure, a stiff rather waddling walk, a high white cravat and stick-up collars in which the square chin is buried, a full but well chiselled face, very short-sighted eyes peering forth through gold-rimmed spectacles ; but above all such a superb dome-like forehead, as could only belong to one of the kings of thought : that is my remembrance of De Morgan, and I feel in looking back upon his personality that his is one of the grandest figures that I have known." [5]

[1] *The University of Bonn: Its Rise, Progress, and Present State. . . .* By a Member of the Inner Temple, 1845, 19.

[2] *D.N.B., s.v.*

[3] S. T. Coleridge: *On the Constitution of the Church and State*, 1830, 70 ; A. De Morgan: *Thoughts suggested by the Establishment of the University of London: An Introductory Lecture, delivered at the Opening of the Faculty of Arts, in University College, Oct.* 16, 1837, 14–20.

[4] *D.N.B. ; Bulletin* iv, 1926–7, 183.

[5] T. Hodgkin: *University College, London, Fifty Years ago*, in *The Northerner*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1901, i, 75.

He has been called "one of the profoundest and subtlest thinkers of the nineteenth century."[1] It has been said with more reserve that "amongst the great men who have lectured within the walls of the College he was probably by reason of his scholarship, by the profundity of his work, and by his personal character, one of the greatest, if not the greatest of them all."[2]

"De Morgan was pre-eminently a teacher. His most original work does not so much increase our stock of mathematical knowledge, but is concerned with mathematical reasoning in general. He himself, in the address which he delivered on the occasion of the foundation of the London Mathematical Society, of which he was the first President, divides exact science into two branches, *the analysis of the necessary* LAWS *of thought, and the analysis of the necessary* MATTER *of thought*. His own work belongs to the former. He was a logician much more than a mathematician in the ordinary sense of the word, and the impression created by reading his mathematical works is that he studied Mathematics, not so much for its own sake as on account of the logic contained and exemplified in it.

In this work De Morgan did not stand alone; he may be taken as a type of his period. After a long pause in mathematical activity in England the work first taken in hand was investigation into the very bases of Mathematics, and more particularly into mathematical reasoning. These investigations became partly a mathematical analysis of Logic itself and partly a logical analysis of the laws followed by the symbols and operations used in Mathematics. De Morgan worked in both directions: we have his *Formal Logic* and his *Trigonometry and Double Algebra*."[3]

As a teacher his classes were remembered for the intellectual discipline which they provided.

"De Morgan's exposition," wrote a former student, "combined excellences of the most varied kinds. It was clear, vivid, and succinct—rich too with abundance of illustration always at the command of enormously wide reading and an astonishingly retentive memory. A

[1] *The Life and Experiences of Sir Henry Enfield Roscoe* . . . Written by Himself, 1906, 25.

[2] Professor M. J. M. Hill: Some account of the holders of the Chair of Pure Mathematics . . . [MS. in the college library], f. 4.

[3] *Ibid.*, ff. 1–3.

voice of sonorous sweetness, a grand forehead, and a profile of classic beauty, intensified the impression of commanding power which an almost equally complete mastery over Mathematical truth, and over the forms of language in which he so attractively arrayed it, could not fail to make upon his auditors. Greater, however, than even these eminent qualities were the love of scientific truth for its own sake, and the utter contempt for all counterfeit knowledge, with which he was visibly possessed, and which he had an extraordinary power of arousing and sustaining in his pupils. The fundamental conceptions of each main department of Mathematics were dwelt upon and illustrated in such detail as to show that, in the judgment of the lecturer, a thorough comprehension and mental assimilation of great principles far outweighed in importance any mere analytical dexterity in the application of half-understood principles to particular cases. Thus, for instance, in Trigonometry, the wide generality of that subject, as the science of undulating or periodic magnitude, was brought out and insisted on from the very first. In like manner the Differential Calculus was approached through a rich conglomerate of elementary illustration, by which the notion of a differential coefficient was made thoroughly intelligible before any formal definition of its meaning had been given. The amount of time spent on any one subject was regulated exclusively by the importance which De Morgan held it to possess in a systematic view of Mathematical Science. The claims which University or College examinations might be supposed to have on the studies of his pupils were never allowed to influence his programme in the slightest degree. He laboured to form sound scientific Mathematicians, and, if he succeeded in this, cared little whether his pupils could reproduce more or less of their knowledge on paper in a given time. On one occasion, when I expressed regret that a most distinguished student of his had been beaten, in the Cambridge Mathematical Tripos, by several men believed to be his inferiors, De Morgan quietly remarked that he 'never thought —— likely to do himself justice in THE GREAT WRITING RACE.' All *cram* he held in the most sovereign contempt. I remember, during the last week of his course which preceded an annual College examination, his abruptly addressing his class as follows: 'I notice that many of you have left off working my examples this week. I know perfectly well what you are doing; YOU ARE CRAMMING FOR THE EXAMINATION. But I will set you such a paper as shall make ALL YOUR CRAM of no use.'"[1]

[1] Sedley Taylor, in *Cambridge University Reporter*, *laud.*, S. E. De Morgan: *Memoir of Augustus De Morgan*, 1882, 98–101: *cf.* T. Hodgkin: *University College, London, Fifty Years ago*, in *The Northerner*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1901, i, 75–6.

"The bland 'hush!'" wrote R. H. Hutton, "with which he would suppress a suggestion which was simply stupid, and the almost grotesque surprise he would feign when a man betrayed that, instead of classification by logical principles, he was thinking of the old unmeaning classification by rule in the common school-books, were exceedingly humorous, and gave a life to the classes beyond the mere scope of their intellectual interests. I think all my fellow-pupils would agree that never was there a more curious mixture of interests than the prepared discussions of principle in his lectures, and the Johnsonian force and sometimes fun of *his* part in the short dialogues with his pupils which occurred from time to time."

The classes, he said, were quite as much classes in logic, at least in the logic of number and magnitude, as in mathematics.[1]

Work with De Morgan was difficult. "De Morgan," wrote Bagehot in 1843, "has been taking us through a perfect labyrinth lately; he was quite lost by the whole class for one lecture, but we are, I hope, getting better, and more gleg at the uptake. We have been discussing the properties of infinite series, which are very perplexing."[2] Ten years later Jevons wrote, "I had hoped that when we began algebraical geometry, as we have done now, we should have had a little rest in mathematics, but the exercises seem only to get harder and harder."[3] De Morgan was irritable, and sometimes became unpopular,[4] but his classes were successful from the start,[5] and increased notably in the 'forties.[6] They exercised a profound influence upon some of the most distinguished *alumni* of the college, and most conspicuously perhaps upon the thought of W. S. Jevons. "I find the classes at college a little dull," he said, when he came back from New Zealand, "—the charm is rubbed off a few things; but then one

[1] *Laud.*, S. E. De Morgan: *Memoir of Augustus De Morgan*, 1882, 97–8.

[2] Mrs. Russell Barrington: *Life of Walter Bagehot*, 1914, 118.

[3] *Letters and Journal of W. Stanley Jevons.* Edited by his Wife, 1886, 32; *cf.* 23, 30, 33, 36, 155; *Report of Speeches . . .* 1881, 25.

[4] *Notes*, 89; Mrs. Russell Barrington: *Life of Walter Bagehot*, 1914, 124; S. E. De Morgan: *Memoir of Augustus De Morgan*, 1882, 101.

[5] S. E. De Morgan: *Memoir of Augustus De Morgan*, 1882, 30; Janet Ross: *Three Generations of Englishwomen*, 1893, 80.

[6] *Ann. Rept.*, 1845, 5; 1846, 5; 1849, 5, 7.

learns more and more to adore De Morgan as an unfathomable fund of mathematics." [1]

The personal character of De Morgan was as impressive as his force of intellect. He had a temper of great sweetness and liberality, but the masterful and independent cast of his mind, a love of principle, a keen sense of humour, and an athletic delight in mental agility, made a radical and incisive critic whom no solemnity could baulk. Of this fruitful and original mind the eccentricities for which he was famous were part and parcel. He became by adoption an incorrigible Londoner. He hated the country.

"I did not exceed by a single day my estimate of the time I could bear the viridity of extra-urban scenery," he wrote to his father-in-law. "I have been only two days regularly in the wilds . . . Conceive me reduced to clip hedges to pass away the time till dinner, which I did with great *goût*, seeing that it is reducing trees to something like regularity, and diminishing the sum-total of foliage . . . No letters from you, from which I conclude that your thoughts are of trees, only interrupted by the slopping of the waves, which are always fiddling at the sand until I long to give them a thump, and tell them to be easy. The prettiest thing about the sea is the straight horizon and the isochronism of the waves in deep water, but near the shore they do not keep time like my pendulum." [2]

As a young man he strayed to Paris and to Normandy. In later years he went once to Boulogne, and he could sometimes be persuaded to spend the summer with his family as far away as Acton or Blackheath. But he really preferred Gower Street or Camden Town, and in the end he had his way and rarely left his accustomed haunts. He was musical, and played the flute with skill. He was a great reader of novels. Other amusement he did not need. "To relax is to forage about the books with no particular object, and not bound to go on with anything." [3]

Crabb Robinson said that he was the only man whose calls,

[1] *Letters and Journal of W. Stanley Jevons.* Edited by his Wife, 1886, 150; *cf.* 88–9.

[2] S. E. De Morgan: *Memoir of Augustus De Morgan*, 1882, 78–80.

[3] *Ibid.*, 393.

even when interruptions, were always acceptable,[1] and the two became intimate. The wit and humorous oddity of his utterances displayed the great acuteness and penetration of his mind, and made him a most stimulating writer and companion. He was a protagonist of the adoption of a system of decimal coinage. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, when the matter was brought before parliament, pronounced the orthodox opinion that the time had not come for change and that great difficulties were involved, and recapitulated other plans possibly preferable to the one before the House.

"The right honourable gentleman," wrote De Morgan, "after saying 'there are differences of opinion,' proceeds to give 'some of the plans' which have come under his observation. One is the tenpenny plan; others are as follows:—1st. 10 farthings or mils, one cent; 10 cents one dime; 10 dimes one prime. 2nd. 10 farthings or mils one coin unnamed; 10 of these a florin; 10 florins a Victoria. 3rd. 10 farthings or cash twopence; 100 cash a cent; 10 cents a mil. 4th. 10 farthings a lion; 10 lions a florin; 10 florins a queen. To these four 'plans' we beg permission to add two of our own invention, as distinct from the above as the above are from one another. Our first plan is 10 farthings a what's-his-name; 10 what's-his-names a how-d'ye-call-it; 10 how-d'ye-call-its a thingembob. Our second plan is 10 farthings a George; 10 Georges a Cornewall; 10 Cornewalls a Lewis."[2]

"What the will is," he once wrote, "I have not the least idea, or whether it ought to be called the *shall* or not. Query, if it be really correct to call it the *will*, how is a person whose will is undecided said to be *shilly-shally*? Ought it not to be *willy-wally*?"[3]

Born in India in 1806, of an Anglo-Indian family,[4] De Morgan was brought up in the West country and went to Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1823. There he found plenty of intellectual stimulus and came under the influence of Whewell. He was fourth Wrangler in 1827, but did not proceed to the M.A. or to a fellowship since, although he had been

[1] *Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson.* Edited by Thomas Sadler, 3 v., 1869, iii, 500.

[2] *Laud.*, S. E. De Morgan: *Memoir of Augustus De Morgan*, 1882, 244.

[3] *Ibid.*, 300.

[4] *Cf.* A. M. W. Stirling: *William De Morgan and his Wife*, 1922, 388–9.

brought up upon strict Evangelical principles and retained throughout life a strong religious feeling, he was unwilling to subscribe to the necessary religious tests. He came to London intending to read for the Bar, but was elected to the chair of Mathematics. He held the chair from 1828 to 1831, when he resigned in consequence of a college dispute to which fuller reference must be made later on. He was succeeded by G. J. P. White. In 1836 White was drowned, and De Morgan returned to the chair which he held until 1866.[1] He lectured twice a day, at nine and at three, staying for some thirty minutes after each lecture to discuss the solutions of the problems which he had set to be worked out. To this, at one period, he added evening classes. The correction of written work cost him much labour. He took private pupils. His advice was frequently sought by the leading actuaries. He took a prominent part in the affairs of the Astronomical Society from 1830 to 1861. He was in 1864 one of the founders and first president of the London Mathematical Society. And he was a prolific writer,[2] and became after 1840 a constant contributor to the *Athenæum*.[3] Late in life he wrote to a friend, "You think, one letter of yours says, that I am feeling the effects of hard work; in fact, that I have been working too hard. Rid your mind of the idea. I have never been *hard* working, but I have been very *continuously* at work."[4]

In 1837 he married a daughter of William Frend, the protector of George Dyer, and the companion of Blake, Coleridge, Lamb, Wordsworth, Burdett, Brougham, Campbell, Browning, and other men of note. By her he had seven children, the eldest son being the potter and novelist William De Morgan. The death of his eldest daughter in 1853, of his second son, George, a close companion and a mathematician of great promise, in 1867, and of a younger daughter in 1870, was a source of great grief. The resignation of his chair in 1866 destroyed some of the most cherished affections of his

[1] S. E. De Morgan: *Memoir of Augustus De Morgan*, 1882, 69–70, 72, 74.
[2] *Ibid.*, 30, 96, 98–9, 401–15.
[3] *The Athenæum*, 1871, i, 370 (25 March, 1871).
[4] S. E. De Morgan: *Memoir of Augustus De Morgan*, 1882, 393.

life. He died in 1871 at the age of sixty-four. His library was bought by Lord Overstone and presented to the University of London. His bust by Woolner is in the central offices of the university.

Key, Long, and Malden, like De Morgan, had also a great influence upon the growth of the college, but although each of them enjoyed some contemporary reputation, they have no standing in the history of classical scholarship. Key was appointed to the chair of Latin on the resignation of Williams in 1828. He became in addition in 1831 headmaster, with Malden, of what ultimately became University College School.[1] In 1842 he resigned his chair to become sole headmaster and first professor of Comparative Grammar.[2] These posts he held until his death in 1875. Long, first occupant of the chair of Greek, resigned in 1831, but returned to the college in 1842 to succeed Key in the chair of Latin, which he held until 1846. He himself was succeeded in the chair of Greek by Malden, who held it until 1876. Both the Greek and Latin classes, contrary to the expectations of Brougham, were successful from the start.[3]

Of the work of these years by the professors of Greek, Professor Platt wrote:

> "A most copious and versatile author, [Long] published during this short period [1828–1831] a summary of Herodotus, *Observations on the Study of the Latin and Greek Languages*, the first portion of a text of Herodotus, and Xenophon's *Anabasis* . . . but he was much too hasty and superficial as a scholar for his work to have any permanent value . . . Henry Malden held the chair for no less than forty-five years . . . He never published anything of any consequence, and he does not seem to have desired celebrity in any form."[4]

In Latin scholarship Long was of rather more account. He was[5] "one of the chief authorities in England on Roman

[1] Minutes, ii, f. 333; *Ann. Rept.*, 1832, 5.

[2] *Ann. Rept.*, 1843, 6.

[3] Janet Ross: *Three Generations of Englishwomen*, 1893, 80.

[4] Professor A. J. Platt: Greek [MS. in the college library], f. 1.

[5] Professor H. E. Butler: Notes on Previous Occupants of the Chair of Latin [Typescript in the college library], f. 1.

History and Roman Law, and as editor of the *Bibliotheca Classica* exercised a considerable influence on the study of the Classics in this country . . . His chief works on Latin subjects are an edition of Cicero's *Speeches* in four volumes (still the only complete commentary) and a *History of the Decline of the Roman Republic* in five volumes." He was well read in several modern languages, and knew something of the work of the German scholars, but he was jealous of Mommsen and believed him to be overrated. "Mommsen's R. History, which I dislike exceedingly, has been extolled in the most absurd way, and mine has been disparaged," he wrote. "But I see some symptoms that a few are beginning to find that Mommsen is talk without facts; and that his knowledge is more pretentious than real." [1] His translation of Marcus Aurelius was made the subject of an essay by Matthew Arnold.[2] Key's chief works in Latin were his *Latin Grammar* (1846) and the imposing fragment of a *Latin Dictionary*, posthumously published in 1888.[3] His contemporary reputation rested principally upon his philological labours. His chair of Comparative Grammar was the first of its kind in this country. He was, in 1830, with Long, Rosen, and others, one of the founders of a Society for Philological Inquiries which met at the university[4]; he became a leading member of the Philological Society, which succeeded it, and was a constant contributor to its *Proceedings* and *Transactions*. "Some of these papers were reprinted in 1868, along with previously unpublished studies, in a volume of *Philological Essays* which is still well worthy of perusal. The essays, marked by originality and independence of judgment, deal with some matters which have subsequently attracted more general notice." [5]

Robinson Ellis wrote of him in 1875:

[1] *Letters of George Long*. Edited by Thomas Fitzhugh, Univ. of Va., 1917, 42, 51, 53.

[2] Matthew Arnold: *Essays in Criticism*, 1865.

[3] Professor H. E. Butler: Notes on Previous Occupants of the Chair of Latin [Typescript in the college library], f. 1.

[4] J. P. Hicks: *T. Hewitt Key. A Short Memoir*, 1893, 10; *Proceedings of the Philological Society*, v, 1854, 61.

[5] Professor F. W. Thomas: Department of Comparative Philology [Typescript in the college library], f. 3.

"His knowledge of Terence and Plautus was probably unsurpassed in England . . .; he was besides a very good teacher, especially of Latin construction. As a philologist he cannot rank so highly; his decided antagonism to what he called 'Sanskritists' can hardly fail to tell against his reputation in this department. But the active part he took in the proceedings of the Philological Society from the first has done much to encourage the growing taste for the subject, and his professorial lectures never failed to attract an interested and attentive audience." [1]

Bagehot worked under him in 1844. "My head," he wrote, "is now full enough of queer etymologies, and examples of all manner of changes of all manner of letters. It is not easy to recollect at a moment's notice a number of words in many languages, yet it is necessary to compare the different forms, and thence to rise to more general laws. The subject is yet in its infancy, for the science is not thirty years old, and this adds much to the difficulty. There is no connected system as yet to help the memory." [2] R. H. Hutton recalled Key as a man "whose restless and ingenious mind led him many a wild dance after etymological will-of-the-wisps—I remember, for instance, his cheerfully accepting the suggestion that 'better' and 'bad' (*melior* and *malus*) came from the same root, and accounting for it by the probable disposition of hostile tribes to call everything bad which their enemies called good, and everything good which their enemies called bad." [3]

Both Key and Long were men of great energy and enterprise, and their careers were closely associated. George Long [4] came of a Lancashire family connected with the West Indies. He was left at the age of twenty-two to provide out of a scanty fortune for a younger brother and two younger sisters. He went to Cambridge and obtained a fellowship at Trinity College, having defeated Macaulay and Malden, and in 1824 accepted the offer, made to him by Gilmer, of the first appointment to the chair of Ancient Languages in the

[1] *The Academy*, viii, 576 (4 Dec., 1875).

[2] Mrs. Russell Barrington: *Life of Walter Bagehot*, 1914, 130–1.

[3] Walter Bagehot: *Literary Studies*. Edited by R. H. Hutton, 2 v., 1884, i, p. xv.

[4] *D.N.B.*; *Bulletin*, iv, 1926–7, 184.

newly established University of Virginia. In so doing he wrote that "he took it for granted that the professors were not compelled to subscribe to any particular religious principles, or aid in the propagation of any doctrine or speculative tenets, about which sects differ."[1]

At Charlottesville, Long knew both Jefferson and Madison. Jefferson talked to him much about the story of the revolution, and showed him the original draft of the Declaration of Independence. He dined once in the company of Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe. Of Monroe he formed a poor opinion.[2] The first years of the new University of Virginia were not easy. The standard of classical teaching in the secondary schools was so low that it was hard to prevent the university from becoming a mere academy, and the enforcement of discipline proved to be difficult. But Long is regarded as having laid the foundations well and exercised a great influence upon the subsequent history of the classical department. He was succeeded by one of his own pupils, Gessner Harrison, and, by sending the first part of Bopp's *Comparative Grammar* to him in 1833, is credited with stimulating the adoption at Virginia of the new German methods in the study of the ancient languages long before they were known in any other American college.[3] He was a sarcastic man, and is said to have commanded the respect rather than the affection of his pupils. R. M. T. Hunter was a student under him and was regarded with especial favour.[4] Poe, who was in his class, he could not afterwards remember.[5]

[1] W. P. Trent: *English Culture in Virginia. Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science* . . . 7th Series, Nos. v–vi, Baltimore, 1889, 89–93, 98–9, 103, 118; *Letters of George Long*. Edited by Thomas Fitzhugh, Univ. of Va., 1917, 11–2, 17–8.

[2] *Letters of George Long*. Edited by Thomas Fitzhugh, Univ. of Va., 1917, 23–5.

[3] P. A. Bruce: *History of the University of Virginia*, 1819–1919 . . . , 5 v., New York, 1920–2, ii, 81–4, 87; H. B. Adams: *Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia. U.S. Bureau of Education, Circular of Information No.* 1, *Contributions to American Educational History* . . . No. 2, Washington, 1888, 116, 164–5.

[4] Martha T. Hunter: *A Memoir of Robert M. T. Hunter*, Washington, 1903, 34–5, 130–1.

[5] *Letters of George Long*. Edited by Thomas Fitzhugh, Univ. of Va., 1917, 60.

Long became a candidate for the chair of Greek in London under the belief that the university would not open until the summer of 1829, and the need to be in England by October, 1828, caused him to break his contract with the University of Virginia. But the Board of Visitors acted with great liberality and released him from his obligations.[1] There is a hint that they were not altogether sorry to lose him. "Madison stated privately that he was an 'embarrassing member of the administrative body,'"[2] and of the man who subsequently locked the Warden out of his classroom and left him to rattle at the doorhandle, that may well have been true.[3] He took a prominent part in the dispute which led to the resignation of De Morgan in 1831, and left the university in conjunction with him. On his resignation he became editor of the *Quarterly Journal of Education*, published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, which was closely connected with the university and drew freely upon the labours of its members.[4] He subsequently edited the society's *Penny Cyclopædia* and *Biographical Dictionary*. He had been, in 1830, one of the founders of the Royal Geographical Society. After his return to the college for the years 1842–46, he became for a short time lecturer on jurisprudence and civil law at the Inner Temple. In 1849 he was appointed classical lecturer at Brighton College. He held the post until 1871. In his later years the prosperity of the college waned and his salary declined.[5] He was granted a civil list pension after his resignation, and died in 1879.

Long's first wife was an American,[6] and he retained an affection for America throughout life, and played with the idea of returning there and devoting himself to agriculture.[7] He

[1] P. A. Bruce: *History of the University of Virginia*, 1819–1919 . . . , 5 v., New York, 1920–2, ii, 146–50.

[2] *Ibid.*, 148.

[3] Talfourd Ely to the Provost, 15 Oct., 1922 [MS. in the college library], ff. 2–3.

[4] Charles Knight: *Passages of a Working Life during Half a Century* . . . , 3 v., 1864–5, ii, 126–8 *et passim*.

[5] *Letters of George Long*. Edited by Thomas Fitzhugh, Univ. of Va., 1917, 53, 54, 56, 58.

[6] *Ibid.*, 40 n.

[7] *Ibid.*, 40, 42, 48–9, 50.

became strongly pro-Southern. Mrs. De Morgan speaks of his "integrity of purpose and simplicity of character, indefatigable industry, and a love of fun which brightened hard work and kept us always amused." [1] The two families were very intimate. Hutton remembered his "caustic irony, accurate and almost ostentatiously dry learning, and profoundly stoical temperament." [2]

T. H. Key [3] was also a Trinity man, a friend of Praed, and a member of that group which gathered round Macaulay,[4] and included Malden and Long. He was the son of a London physician, and turned, himself, to the study of medicine. But he was interested in the sciences and a keen student of political economy, personally acquainted with McCulloch,[5] and he accepted the offer of the chair of Mathematics at the University of Virginia with alacrity, as affording him that opportunity of an academic career which he really desired.[6] He was never, however, satisfied in America and resigned in 1827, pleading ill-health.[7] His most effective work in London was done during his long tenure of the headmastership of University College School. He was a great teacher, he has been called "one of the grandest oral teachers of his time," [8] and he holds a notable place in the history of secondary education. His vigour and originality as a schoolmaster are best illustrated by the evidence which he gave before the Schools Enquiry Commission in 1867.[9] In addition to the

[1] S. E. De Morgan: *Memoir of Augustus De Morgan*, 1882, 103.

[2] Walter Bagehot: *Literary Studies*. Edited by R. H. Hutton, 2 v., 1884, i, xv–xvi.

[3] *D.N.B.*; *Bulletin*, iv, 1926–7, 183.

[4] G. O. Trevelyan: *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, 1908, 55.

[5] W. P. Trent: *English Culture in Virginia. Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science . . .*, 7th Series, Nos. v–vi, Baltimore, 1889, 73, 75.

[6] *Ibid.*, 71–8.

[7] *Ibid.*, 124–5; P. A. Bruce: *History of the University of Virginia*, 1819–1919 . . ., 5 v., New York, 1920–2, ii, 144–5, 149, 298–301.

[8] Temple Orme: *University College School, London. Alphabetical and Chronological Register for* 1831–1891 [n.d.], 10–1.

[9] *Report of Commissioners on Education in Schools in England, not comprised within Her Majesty's two recent Commissions on Popular Education and Public Schools. Minutes of Evidence* [Command paper], 3966, III, 313–31. H. of C., 1867–8, XXVIII, Pt. III.

philological activities to which reference has been made, he was a member of the Committee of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, and one of the founders of the London Library. There is a bust of him by Woolner in the General Library, for which he gave only a few sittings and which was not regarded as a good likeness.[1] His portrait is in the Professors' Common-Room.

A very different figure from Key or Long was that of Henry Malden.[2] He taught, wrote Hutton, "a love of that exquisite nicety in treating questions of scholarship, which has, perhaps, been more needed and less cultivated in Gower Street than any other of the higher elements of a college education."[3] A writer in the *Spectator*, whom we may guess also to be Richard Holt Hutton, then its editor, contributed after his death an appreciation of his work.

"He had in him," he said, "something of the tenderness and something of the grace of a poet, with a minuteness of laborious accuracy, and a fidelity of philological zeal which sometimes drew away his mind from the poetical aspects of his great subjects to the fine dust oftener raised than laid by the Scholiasts, and the accumulated illustrations which painstaking editors would pile over a recondite allusion or an enigmatic figure of speech. Conscientious, delicate, precise, with something in him of the mathematician's as well as the scholar's sense of beauty . . . Professor Malden would throw into his disquisitions on a corrupt chorus of the 'Agamemnon,' or an obscure touch of Aristophanic satire, as much labour and method as a statesman would devote to a public measure of high importance, or a thinker to the premisses of a new theory . . . If there was a fault in Mr. Malden's method of teaching it was . . . [that] he was so careful, painstaking, and elaborate, that he failed to cover the surface of ground necessary to give his students a certain familiarity with the greater Greek authors, and those of them who became first-rate Greek scholars, succeeded quite as much through the range of their private reading as through the models of thoroughness and delicacy of scholarship which he set before them in class. No doubt this was in him a deliberate policy. He knew well enough that his lectures could never discharge the tutorial function for his pupils; that they were mere

[1] J. P. Hicks: *T. Hewitt Key. A Short Memoir*, 1893, 14.

[2] *D.N.B.*

[3] Walter Bagehot: *Literary Studies*. Edited by R. H. Hutton, 2 v., 1884, i, p. xv.

specimens of classical investigation ; and that without a very much more rapid and more superficial habit of reading in Greek, as well as this elaborate study of selected works, no man would ever become really at home in Greek literature. Still his whole genius and nature rebelled against doing anything at all, unless he could do it with that thoroughness which satisfied his fastidious taste, so that year after year he preferred to examine exhaustively a corner of a great subject, to attempting anything like that rapid and general survey of it which would have given his students a larger familiarity with the language, at the cost of sacrificing, to some extent at least, his elaborate and fastidious method . . . [But] the notion that University College was meant to diffuse for utilitarian purposes the rough-and-ready teaching of experience amongst the middle-classes, certainly received a most effective refutation to all who knew the reserve, the polish, the shy sarcasm, the elaborate precision of Professor Malden's scholarship, and the extreme value set upon it by all his colleagues and almost all his pupils." [1]

He is delineated in *The Dream of Life* among the friends of Macaulay and Charles Austin at Cambridge.

" With him [i.e. Macaulay] in bonds
Of mutual friendship link'd—in classic lore
His equal, though of less voracious maw,
And slower to digest what he devour'd
Of intellectual food—appear'd a youth
Of comeliest presence, though of brow, perchance,
Less lofty and projecting than the brain
Beneath it would have taught phrenologists
To look for in its owner :—grave he was,
And prone to silence ; and whene'er he spake,
'Twas with a slow, sententious utterance,
As if each word that dropp'd was first well weigh'd,
And licensed to go forth ;—his manner shy
And somewhat puritanical ;—yet none
Possess'd a mind with richer humour fraught,
Or saw, with so acute and quick a glance,
The ludicrous in all things :—not in vain
He woo'd the Muse—with no ungraceful steps
Walk'd through the land of Fancy in its length
And in its breadth ; but with more earnest love
He sought profounder lore :—his mind severe,

[1] *The Spectator*, xlix, 859–60 (8 July, 1876).

Patient, exact, with most tenacious grasp
Held fast, and grappled with, and overcame
Whate'er of difficult impediment
Beset his path to knowledge ;—nor was truth,
Thus hardly won, less resolutely kept.
The rash vagaries of erratic thought
And venturous speculation, which seduced
More sanguine minds, ne'er raised a doubt in his,
Nor shook the deep foundations of his faith
Even for a moment.—Now, a learned man,
In professorial chair he holds his state
Didactic, and with classic lore imbues
Another generation." [1]

"There was always obvious in his class-room," said a writer in the *Athenæum*, "an amusing contrast between the elaborate exposition he bestowed on the author on whom he might be lecturing, and the rough and elementary acquirements of the bulk of his pupils. But, few as there were among his pupils capable of adequately appreciating him, his quiet courtesy won all hearts." [2]

And the few were delighted from first to last.[3]

For forty-five years this urbane and gentle scholar laboured patiently in the lecture-room which is now the office.[4] He has been described by a student who sat at his feet towards the end of that long service.

"He looked very old and very frail, but his face had the rare and delicate beauty that sometimes crowns old age. His voice too was sweet, and his manner was courtesy itself. I think I can remember hearing that he had a temper, but I saw no sign of it when I was in his class. To me, however, apart from the charm of his face and manner, he was not an attractive teacher, though his scholarship was accurate and

[1] J. Moultrie: *The Dream of Life, Lays of the English Church, and other Poems*, 1843, 90–1.

[2] *The Athenæum*, 1876, ii, 81 (15 July, 1876).

[3] I. Giberne Sieveking: *Memoir and Letters of Francis W. Newman*, 1909, 108; J. B. Benson: Some Recollections of University College in the Sixties [Typescript in the college library], ff. 3–4; T. Hodgkin: *University College, London, Fifty Years ago*, in *The Northerner*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1901, i, 76–7.

[4] R. J. Godlee: *The Foundation Oration on Lister and his Work*, 1913, 4; T. Hodgkin, *loc. cit.*, i. 75.

minute, and his translations laboriously careful and exact. Even when we read the *Antigone*, my recollection is of a rather dreary experience." [1]

Born in 1800, at school and at college with Macaulay,[2] he had a brilliant career at Cambridge, and was one of the contributors with Macaulay and Praed to *Knight's Quarterly Magazine*. He was engaged to write a *History of Rome* for the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, which was published in 1830, and became later more closely associated with its work as a member of the committee. He played a considerable part in reconciling the divergent interests awakened by the proposal to grant a charter to the university, and in the discovery and acceptance of the solution which was ultimately reached.[3] Joint headmaster of the school with Key from 1831 to 1842, he continued to teach the Sixth and to superintend the examinations until 1868.[4] He led a placid and uneventful life, and died, a few weeks after the resignation of his chair, in 1876. His portrait is in the Council Room.

iv. Law and Economics

The most illustrious of the names of the first professors is probably that of John Austin,[5] yet the department of law, although not altogether unsuccessful, failed to achieve what was expected of it.

Appointed to the chair of Jurisprudence and the Law of Nations in the summer of 1827, Austin devoted the year which intervened before the opening of the university to careful preparation for the duties he was to undertake. He went to Germany, which he had already visited in 1826–7, that he might acquaint himself with the work of the great jurists of that country, and settled at Bonn for the winter of 1827–8.

[1] B. P. Neuman: *Gower Street in the 'Seventies*, in *The Nineteenth Century and After*, lxxxvii, 1920, 293.

[2] G. O. Trevelyan: *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, 1908, 37, 42.

[3] *The Athenæum*, 1876, ii, 81 (15 July, 1876); *Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson*. Edited by Thomas Sadler, 3 v., 1869, iii, 85.

[4] Temple Orme: *University College School, London. Alphabetical and Chronological Register for* 1831–1891 [n.d.], 11.

[5] *D.N.B.*; *Bulletin*, iv, 1926–7, 182.

Here he met and mixed freely with A. W. von Schlegel, Niebuhr, Brandis, Welcker, and the other distinguished scholars who at that time made Bonn famous, and read both law and German, obtaining the services of a young Doctor of Law who had studied under Hugo at Göttingen and under Savigny at Berlin.[1] The experience exercised a profound influence upon him.[2] The fruit of his labours was the delivery to his students of the substance of the now famous *Lectures on Jurisprudence*.[3]

There was no systematic legal teaching in London at that date, yet the city seemed peculiarly adapted to the creation of a great school of law. Academic studies would be invigorated by contact with legal practice, and legal practice would benefit by the scientific analysis of its tacit assumptions. Professional lawyers and students preparing for the profession might be expected to avail themselves eagerly of a legal education which would provide them with a systematic plan of juridical study, and, as the Council expressed it in 1829, the professor might learn "to illustrate his prelections . . . by practical discussions of cases actually tried in the Courts of London and Westminster—as the Medical teachers explain the practical application of their science by Clinical Lessons."[4] To create such a school was a mission peculiarly appropriate to an institution so intimately associated as the university with the followers of Bentham.

To execute his share in this work Austin was exceptionally well qualified. He failed, through ill-health, to lecture at all in the first session,[5] but in 1829 his class began with the promise of great success. Not only was he a man of powerful intellect and deep learning, but he was also a very effective

[1] Janet Ross: *Three Generations of Englishwomen*, 1893, 67–73, 431; J. Austin: *Lectures on Jurisprudence*, 3rd ed., 2 v., 1869, i, 5.

[2] J. S. Mill: *Autobiography*, 1873, 176–9.

[3] *Tables*, printed at time of delivery of course; *Outline of course*, 1831; *The Province of Jurisprudence determined*, 1832; 2nd ed., 1861; Vols. II–III, 1863; 3rd ed., 2 v., 1869; *cf.* edition of 1869, i, 24–5, 27, 32; Janet Ross: *Three Generations of Englishwomen*, 1893, 83; *The Letters of John Stuart Mill*. Edited . . . by Hugh S. R. Elliot, 2 v., 1910, i, 18.

[4] *Ann. Rept.*, 1829, 14.

[5] Corres., No. 583; *The Sun*, 22 Apr., 1830, 3 d.

public speaker. Objecting upon principle to written lectures,[1] although he was nervous at the start, he made a habit of using notes only and following freely the development of his argument.

"His peculiar tastes and talents," wrote his wife, "fitted him for the business of a teacher. His power of methodising and expounding was matchless; and he had a natural and powerful eloquence (when he allowed himself to give way to it), which was calculated to rivet the attention and fix itself on the memory. This was far more striking in conversation than in his written lectures. As soon as he reduced anything to writing, the severity of his taste and his habitual resolution to sacrifice everything to clearness and precision, led him to rescind every word or expression that did not, in his opinion, subserve these ends. Perhaps no man," she added, "was ever more eminently qualified to raise extemporaneous discourse to the highest excellence, had he but combined with his other qualifications that of easy confidence and self-satisfaction. His voice was clear and harmonious, and his elocution perfect. Nobody ever heard him without being powerfully struck with the vigour and originality of his discourse, the variety and extent of his knowledge, and the scholarlike accuracy and singular appositeness of his language." [2]

He was a prince of talkers. Mrs. Grote once wrote a little unkindly, "Don't you know what is the matter with John Austin? He has been languishing for want of a listener . . . the presence of a listener (or listeners) will revive him like magic. . . . It is the indispensable condition of his existence; *talk*, and *monological* talk." [3]

The reputation he already enjoyed attracted a distinguished audience.[4] "A good-natured lad who comes often to see me, and is the dandy of the class (a son of Sir Alexander Johnston)," wrote Sarah Austin in April, 1830, "says it is really very agreeable to attend Mr. Austin's class—it is such a gentlemanly one." [5] As late as February, 1830, the Council was able to

[1] Janet Ross: *Three Generations of Englishwomen*, 1893, 68–9; J. Austin: *Lectures on Jurisprudence*, 3rd ed., 2 v., 1869, i, 7.

[2] J. Austin: *Lectures on Jurisprudence*, 3rd ed., 2 v., 1869, i, 7–8; *cf. The Law Magazine and Law Review*, ix, 1860, 166.

[3] Mrs. Grote: *The Personal Life of George Grote*, 1873, 200.

[4] J. Austin: *Lectures on Jurisprudence*, 3rd ed., 2 v., 1869, i, 6.

[5] Janet Ross: *Three Generations of Englishwomen*, 1893, 80.

report that it continued to derive the greatest satisfaction from the success which had attended the Law department.[1]

But as so often in the life of John Austin the high hopes wilted and died. In November of 1830 he actually had so small a class that he postponed his course until January. Then he lectured to eight. "At first he bore this shock wonderfully," wrote his wife, "considering what it must be to a man who has devoted the whole of such a mind as his, and all its stores, to that one object. He merely said what was sufficiently evident, that it was now decided that we could not live here; that he would go through his course as well as if his class were ever so numerous, and at the end of it send in his resignation."[2] The decline in the number of students in this year, which amounted to seventy, arose principally from a decrease in the Law classes.[3] In the event Austin persevered for two years more, and Mill continued to be faithful to him.[4] But, although he retained his chair until January, 1835,[5] he ceased to lecture after June, 1833.[6]

Austin's resignation was due partly to financial necessity. The Council had, it will be remembered, guaranteed £300 a year to each of the professors for the first two years. This guarantee was renewed for a third session. It would cease at Michaelmas, 1831. Since in the comparatively prosperous year of 1829–30 his fees had only amounted to £120, the prospect was not an encouraging one,[7] and in the session 1832–3 they fell to £32. But in 1831 a subscription was raised to provide an endowment of £200 a year for three years for the chair of Jurisprudence,[8] and the whole of the explanation is not to be found in finance.

[1] *Ann. Rept.*, 1830, 11.

[2] Janet Ross: *Three Generations of Englishwomen*, 1893, 82; Minutes, ii, f. 156.

[3] *Ann. Rept.*, 1831, 9.

[4] *The Letters of John Stuart Mill.* Edited . . . by Hugh S. R. Elliot, 2 v., 1910, i, 31.

[5] *Ann. Rept.*, 1835, 4; Minutes, ii, ff. 460, 464–5, 467.

[6] *Ann. Rept.*, 1834, 6; Statement of Account [MS. in the college library].

[7] Janet Ross: *Three Generations of Englishwomen*, 1893, 80.

[8] Corres., No. 2713; *The Letters of John Stuart Mill.* Edited . . . by Hugh S. R. Elliot, 2 v., 1910, i, 18; *Ann. Rept.*, 1833, 13; Minutes, ii, f. 405.

There was a strain of weakness in Austin's character. Sarah Austin was too loyal to admit it publicly, but it is revealed in her letters. "My husband," she once wrote to Guizot, "gets books and exhausts their whole contents, turning every part of his subject over a thousand times in his mind; but though the head works, the hand is absolutely inert. And then he takes refuge in a sort of *découragement*—as if there were nothing to be done for mankind."[1] Bad health and a curious temperamental inability to bring his vast intellectual labours to fruition made him almost constantly gloomy and dissatisfied.[2] "If I ever happen to fall short in my internal supply of hope and cheerfulness," said his wife, "I get none from without. My dearest partner has not, and never had, enough for home consumption, much less to give to his neighbours."[3] In the very hey-day of his prospects, in 1829, she wrote to her sister:

"My husband has been better and worse, and better, and so on. He has now passed two months or more without an attack. This appears but a pittance of time for a man engaged in the most extensive and difficult of all studies, to rearrange all his dissipated ideas and to collect the scattered and mutilated fragments of long and nearly perfected chains of thought and arrangement. Yet this is a longer reprieve than he has had for a considerable time. He is now going on with spirit. Many times, however, since I last wrote, he has entirely despaired of being able to commence his public career, and I have held myself in a state of constant preparation for any decision he might take, and have accustomed myself to look steadily at the abandonment of all our prospects here for ever. Indeed, those who know what a life of prolonged uncertainty and suspense is, will not wonder at me for wishing that the worst were come and nothing left to hope or fear."[4]

He was seldom more than "tolerably well—as well as a body subjected to the attrition of such a mind, revolving on itself," could be.[5] John Stuart Mill, who acknowledged a great debt to him, recognised his weakness.

"It must be said, that the strength of will of which his manner seemed to give such strong assurance, expended itself principally in

[1] Janet Ross: *Three Generations of Englishwomen*, 1893, 244.
[2] *Ibid.*, 91.
[3] *Ibid.*, 216.
[4] *Ibid.*, 78.
[5] *Ibid.*, 257.

manner. With great zeal for human improvement, a strong sense of duty, and capacities and acquirements the extent of which is proved by the writings he has left, he hardly ever completed any intellectual task of magnitude. He had so high a standard of what ought to be done, so exaggerated a sense of deficiencies in his own performances, and was so unable to content himself with the amount of elaboration sufficient for the occasion and the purpose, that he not only spoilt much of his work for ordinary use by overlabouring it, but spent so much time and exertion in superfluous study and thought, that when his task ought to have been completed, he had generally worked himself into an illness, without having half finished what he undertook." [1]

He was, wrote his wife, " an immense, powerful, and beautiful machine, without the balance-wheel, which should keep it going constantly, evenly, and justly." [2]

His failure, or the belief that he had failed, at the university was " the real and irremediable calamity of his life—the blow from which he never recovered." [3] He was appointed a member of the Criminal Law Commission in 1833, but soon resigned because the Commission had no power to effect those fundamental reforms which he thought necessary. He was appointed lecturer on Jurisprudence by the Inner Temple in 1834, but was harassed by the uncertainty attendant upon a new venture, and abandoned the post.[4] He was sent as a Royal Commissioner to Malta to enquire into the grievances of which its inhabitants complained, and there performed work which perhaps gave him as much satisfaction as anything else which he did, but he was recalled in 1838. For the rest of his life he remained inert, ever revolving large schemes, but never coming to the point of execution.[5] To the very end his wife hoped that he would complete something which should be a worthy monument of him.

[1] J. S. Mill: *Autobiography*, 1873, 74–5.

[2] Janet Ross: *Three Generations of Englishwomen*, 1893, 326.

[3] J. Austin: *Lectures on Jurisprudence*, 3rd ed., 2 v., 1869, i, 9.

[4] Janet Ross: *Three Generations of Englishwomen*, 1893, 107–8; *Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Arrangements in the Inns of Court and Inns of Chancery for promoting the Study of the Law and Jurisprudence; together with Appendices* [Command paper], 1998, 206. H. of C., 1854–5, XVIII, 345.

[5] *Cf.* Janet Ross: *Three Generations of Englishwomen*, 1893, 324–6.

"My dear husband is advancing steadily and vigorously in his work," she wrote to Guizot in 1858. "I had a great fright a few days ago when, on my return from my visit to my daughter and her babe, I found him ill, nervous, and sleepless, and *beginning* to be dejected about himself. All my old terrors came over me, and I saw in anticipation another failure, another *breakdown*, and the fatal consequences to him. I almost reproached myself with having urged him to try once more to quit his inert ease, where, attempting nothing, he could not have the bitterness of failure, or I, hoping nothing, of disappointment. However, God be thanked, the cloud seems passing over. I have nursed and watched him as a mother does her new-born babe, with such anxious tenderness. Last night he got a long sleep, and he is at work again with great vigour." [1]

He died in 1859, leaving a mass of unfinished papers. The publication of the second edition of *The Province of Jurisprudence Determined*, and the issue of the second and third volumes, based upon the lectures of 1828–32, was the work of his wife. She spoke of his life as one "of unbroken disappointment and failure," an "honourable and unprosperous career." [2]

Austin's colleague in the department of Law was Andrew Amos,[3] professor of English Law, who added to his duties in 1831 the joint tenure with A. T. Thomson of the chair of Medical Jurisprudence.[4] His inaugural lecture was crowded with barristers, students, and articled clerks. Auckland was in the chair. Brougham and Tooke supported him. Many of the Council were there and "most of the professors in full costume." So many were turned away that the lecture was repeated on a later day.[5] There were 144 in the class during the first session,[6] and the lecture had to be moved from what is now the Professors' Smoking-Room to the Botanical Theatre.[7]

[1] Janet Ross: *Three Generations of Englishwomen*, 1893, 344–5.

[2] *Ibid.*, 373; *ibid.*, 2 v., 1888, i, 104.

[3] *D.N.B.*; *Bulletin*, iv, 1926–7, 182.

[4] *Ann. Rept.*, 1831, 8; *Cal.*, 1831, 176.

[5] *The Times*, 12 Nov., 1828, 2 c.

[6] *Report of the Class of English Law in the University of London, for the Session* 1828-1829. *Delivered by Professor Amos, at the Adjudication of Prizes, on the 9th day of July*, 1829. Published by the Law Class, 1829, 5.

[7] *Ibid.*, 6.

In the second session the class numbered 111.[1] Besides the lectures, separate meetings for discussions were frequently arranged, and a Law Library was placed in a room, now the Cloak Room, immediately adjacent to the theatre, where Amos made a habit of spending some time before and after each lecture in order to meet individual members of the class.[2] During his tenure of the chair James Humphreys gave lectures upon Real Property.[3]

Amos proved a very expert and attractive teacher, combining with the formal lecture a great deal of conversational discussion of legal problems. Gerald Griffin was at one time among his pupils.

> "He was struck . . . with the manner of the students which was singularly different from any thing he had ever before observed of pupils under instruction. They were many of them grown up young men, some of them already at the bar, and, as if they were professors themselves, made no more ado about stopping the lecturer to ask him any question that arose to their minds, than if they were at a tea party. These questions however being generally very pertinent, the Professor seemed rather pleased at the attention they indicated; and they often gave rise to conversations on the point in debate, which were listened to with the utmost interest, and looked upon as no departure from the object with which they were assembled." [4]

The Council announced in 1829 that it had it in contemplation to fill the chair of Civil Law, for which T. J. Hogg was destined, and to add a professorship of the Law of Real Property, so that the professor of English Law might be at liberty to enter minutely into the remaining branches of the

[1] *Report of the Class of English Law in the University of London, for the Session* 1829–1830. *Delivered at the Adjudication of Prizes, on the 14th day of July*, 1830. Published by the Law Class, 1830, 3.

[2] *Report of the Class* . . . 1828–1829, 5–6, 1829–1830, 3, 4; Minutes, i, f. 263; *Report from the Select Committee on Legal Education together with Minutes of Evidence* [*etc.*]. H. of C., 686 of 1846, 94–173, X, 1.

[3] App. I, B, i, No. 51; *The Morning Chronicle*, 31 Jan., 1829, 3 c; *London University Magazine*, i, 1829, 361.

[4] *The Life of Gerald Griffin*. By his Brother, in *The Works of Gerald Griffin*, 8 v., 1843, i, 291–2; *cf. Report of the Class* . . . 1828–1829, 5–6; *London University Magazine*, i, 1829, 359–63.

municipal law, civil and criminal,[1] and in 1830 still hoped to carry out this plan.[2] But in that year a decline set in.[3] In 1833 the Law Society began to provide lectures; in the same year lectures were established at the Inner Temple, and projects of expansion were postponed.[4] The university looked to derive benefit in due course from that reform of legal education the immediate effect of which was to damage its own law school. When admission to the bar should be accorded only after examination, it might be expected that law degrees as a stamp of superior attainments would be more eagerly sought, and then the University of London would be able to offer a degree which represented a fuller legal training than that of any of its rivals.[5] Profit was likewise expected from the regulations, established in 1836,[6] subjecting attorneys and solicitors to examination before admission.[7] But for the time being the effects of the new competition were felt severely, and Amos resigned at the end of the session, 1833–4.[8]

Born in 1791, Amos was educated at Eton, where he was the solitary friend of Shelley,[9] and at Trinity College, Cambridge. Called to the Bar by the Middle Temple, he had already a considerable practice when he was elected to the chair at the university. He was appointed a member of the

[1] *Ann. Rept.*, 1829, 14. [2] *Ibid.*, 1830, 11. [3] *Ibid.*, 1831, 9.

[4] *Ibid.*, 1834, 6–7; *cf. The Morning Chronicle*, 25 Apr., 1834, 1 b–c; *University of London. Address from the Senate to the Council in support of the Application of the University for a Charter*, 1834, 14; *Ann. Rept.*, 1835, 4; *Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Arrangements in the Inns of Court and Inns of Chancery, for promoting the Study of the Law and Jurisprudence; together with Appendices* [Command paper], 1998, 13,206. H. of C., 1854–5, XVIII, 345.

[5] *University of London. Address from the Senate to the Council in support of the Application of the University for a Charter*, 1834, 14; *Ann. Rept.*, 1835, 4.

[6] E. B. V. Christian: *A Short History of Solicitors*, 1896, 180–2; *Report from the Select Committee on Legal Education together with Minutes of Evidence* [*etc.*]. H. of C., 686 of 1846, XV, X, 1.

[7] *Ann. Rept.*, 1836, 7; 1838, 11.

[8] *Ibid.*, 1834, 7; Corres., No. 3124; *cf. Report from the Select Committee on Legal Education together with Minutes of Evidence* [*etc.*]. H. of C., 686 of 1846, 94–100, X, 1.

[9] *Shelley and Keats as they struck their Contemporaries* . . . Edited by E. Blunden, 1925, 6–9.

Criminal Law Commission in 1834. Three years later he went to India as "fourth member" of the governor-general's council in succession to Macaulay. Returning in 1843 he subsequently became one of the newly-established county-court judges. In 1849 he was elected Downing Professor of Laws at Cambridge. He died in 1860. There is a bust of him in the General Library. Many of the lectures which he gave at the university were published in the *Legal Examiner and Law Chronicle*.[1]

Amos was succeeded by W. G. Lumley, who held the chair until 1838.[2] He in his turn was succeeded by P. S. Carey. Already appointed Recorder of Dartmouth (1836), he became, in 1838, Judge of the Court of Record at Wells. "After his resignation, his college lectures on the Law of Contract were published in the *Law Times* in 1845–6, and his lectures on Real Property in 1846–8. They seem to be lucid, careful, solid, and no way adventurous. He became Chief Magistrate (Bailiff) of Guernsey in 1845, and he was knighted in 1863."[3]

The chair of Jurisprudence was not filled until 1839,[4] when the Council appointed J. T. Graves,[5] so that there was no teaching in that subject for six years. Graves was a man of great versatility, being, as well as a lawyer, a classical scholar and a mathematician of distinction. He was the life-long friend of Sir William Rowan Hamilton, and became intimate with Malden and De Morgan. He formed an extensive and very valuable mathematical library, which he bequeathed to the

[1] *Legal Examiner*, i–iii, 1831–3: i, 68, 103, 144, 182, 250, 286, 315, 397, 424, 507, 540, 579, 610, 652, 678; ii, 3, 147, 239, 286; iii, 191, 233, 279, 347, 443, 509, 529; *Legal Examiner and Law Chronicle*, i–v, 1833–5: i, 145, 169, 201, 311; ii, 221, 253, 293, 335, 397, 481; iii, 209, 249, 353; iv, 141, 165, 197, 241, 265, 313, 353; v, 148, 157, 175, 189, 205, 221, 364, 412, 482, 530, 648, 661; *Westminster Hall Chronicle and Legal Examiner*, i–ii, 1836: i, 5, 35, 57, 73, 97, 124, 149, 172, 193, 217, 244, 265, 289, 313, 337, 361, 386, 409, 433, 457, 481; ii, 65, 89, 113, 137, 161, 185.

[2] Minutes, iii, 9 June, 1838.

[3] Professor A. F. Murison: The College Record in Legal Studies [Typescript in the college library], f. 9.

[4] *Ann. Rept.*, 1839, 11; Minutes, iii, 16 Feb., 1839.

[5] *D.N.B.*; *Notes*, 189–90.

college. The exact contemporary of De Morgan, being thirty-one when he was appointed to the chair, he had been called to the Bar by the Inner Temple in 1831, and went for a short time the Western Circuit, but his interest in the law was rather philosophical than practical. He wrote upon Roman law and canon law in the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*, and was a contributor to Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*. A course of lectures on the Law of Nations was reported in the *Law Times* in 1843–4.[1]

He was on the committee of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, and was elected a member of the Royal Society in 1839, and subsequently served upon its Council. He was also a member of the Philological Society, and of the Royal Society of Literature. He resigned his chair in 1843.[2] He was afterwards appointed an Assistant Poor Law Commissioner, and in 1847 a Poor Law Inspector. He died in 1870. His sister was the wife of Ranke.

Closely associated in the minds of the founders with the school of law was the chair of Political Economy. It was not the first of its kind in the country. Nassau Senior had begun to lecture in Oxford in 1825. Pryme had lectured in Cambridge as early as 1816, and was granted the title of Professor in 1828; and Malthus had been teaching at Haileybury since 1805. For the London chair the Council selected J. R. McCulloch.[3] A man of thirty-nine, he had already a considerable reputation as an economist and had an active literary career of ten years' duration to his credit. From its foundation in 1817 he had written the economical articles for the *Scotsman*, in 1818 he became, in succession to Francis Horner, the principal writer upon economic topics in *The Edinburgh Review*, and had published his *Principles of Political Economy* in 1825. He had lectured on economics in London in 1822, in Edinburgh in 1823 and 1824–5, and in Liverpool in the winter of 1825–6. His friends had tried to obtain the founda-

[1] *Law Times*, i, 1843, 95–7, 193–5, 265–8, 372–4, 469–71, 613–4, 660–2; ii, 1843–4, 47–9, 241–2, 282–4, 393–6; iii, 1844, 85–7.

[2] *Ann. Rept.*, 1844, 6.

[3] *D.N.B.*; *Bulletin*, v, 1927–8, 121; T. Murray: *Autobiographical Notes, also Reminiscences of a Journey to London in* 1840, Dumfries, 1911, 72–92.

tion of a chair of Political Economy at Edinburgh in 1825 with a view to his appointment to it, and his visit to London at the invitation of Ricardo in 1822 had brought him into relation with several of those who were to be most active in the foundation of the new university, and in particular with James Mill, Brougham, and John Smith, and it was at the instance of the last that he was appointed to deliver the first Ricardo Lectures on Political Economy in the spring of 1824. He himself is reported subsequently to have said that "he was glad to accept the Chair of Political Economy as a step to something better, and was resolved to cut it the moment a superior or even an equivalent situation was in his power." [1] Be that as it may, his tenure of the chair was not successful. His class was never large, his office never as remunerative as the success of the course, which he delivered in 1822, and of the Ricardo Lectures had led him to expect, and sometimes he had no pupils at all. He fell into a long-drawn-out dispute with the Council about the number of pupils requisite to make effective his obligation to lecture. To this source of irritation and mutual discontent was added the active part which he took in the dispute between the Warden and the professors,[2] causing him to become the bitter enemy of Brougham, whom he virulently attacked in the *Courier* on the fall of the Melbourne ministry in November, 1834. In July, 1835, he refused to lecture in the coming session unless his salary were guaranteed, and in April, 1837, the Council declared the chair to be vacant.[3] It was not filled until 1854.

An economist and a Scotsman, McCulloch was the subject of a good deal of banter. He was the frequent butt of Christopher North. Peacock, who was one of a company of Sunday walkers led by McCulloch and Mill,[4] caricatured him as Mr. MacQuedy in *Crotchet Castle*, and he reappeared thirty years later in *Gryll Grange* as Mr. MacBorrowdale.[5]

[1] T. Murray, *op. cit.*, 87.

[2] *Cf. infra.*, pp. 190–209.

[3] *Cf.* Corres., *s.v.* McCulloch; *Mechanics' Magazine*, xxvii, 160 (10 June, 1837); *The Patriot*, 22 May, 1837, 325 d; Minutes, ii, ff. 489, 494–5, iii, ff. 123–4.

[4] A. Bain: *James Mill. A Biography*, 1882, 339–40.

[5] *Crotchet Castle by the Author of Headlong Hall . . .*, 1831; *Gryll Grange. By the Author of 'Headlong Hall' . . .*, 1861.

v. The Study of Philosophy, English, History, and Geography

The early history of the departments of philosophy and of English was undistinguished, and the departments of history and of geography held only a subordinate position.

[1] " During the period from 1825 . . . to the end of 1828 . . . the claims of philosophy to a place in a scheme of liberal education were little likely to be neglected, for among the leaders of the movement were Brougham, James Mill, and George Grote, the last at that time a young man largely under the influence of Mill. According to the first *Statement*, issued in 1827, there were to be two philosophical chairs—one of Logic and the Philosophy of the Human Mind, and one of Moral and Political Philosophy. The view of philosophy then prevalent was that of the English empirical school. As the aim of the physical sciences was to ascertain the most general facts observable in the outer world, so the aim of philosophy, or mental science, was to ascertain the most general facts relating to the inner world, that of thought and feeling. The one chair, as the *Second Statement*, issued in 1828, put it, would have for its province ' that department of mental phenomena in which all that relates to knowledge or the acquisition and formation of ideas is concerned,' while the other chair would have for its province ' that department of the mental phenomena in which all that relates to action is concerned.' [2] These two chairs were advertised in the spring of 1827, but no candidates of any distinction made application. A follower of Bentham, Dr. Southwood Smith,[3] was recommended in Committee for the chair of Moral Philosophy, but he was not elected. For the other chair, the name of the Rev. John Hoppus was seriously considered ; but, in consequence of Grote's opposition on the ground that in an unsectarian institution a minister of religion could not fitly occupy a chair of *philosophy*, no recommendation was made. So that when the university opened in 1828 neither of the philosophical chairs had been filled.

In the spring of 1829, or earlier, Grote tried to secure the election of his friend Charles Cameron to the chair of Moral and Political Philosophy. But, although Cameron was recommended by the Education Committee in June, the Council in July, at the instance of Z. Macaulay

[1] Professor G. Dawes Hicks : Department of Philosophy [MS. in the college library], ff. 1–6 ; *cf. Journal of Philosophical Studies*, iii, 1928, 468–82.

[2] *Cf.* J. Drummond and C. B. Upton : *The Life and Letters of James Martineau*, 2 v., 1902, ii, 356.

[3] *D.N.B.* ; *Bulletin*, iv, 1926–7, 185.

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From an engraving by C. W. Radcliffe [n.d.].

and others who held that there could be no satisfactory teaching of ethics except on a religious basis, shelved the recommendation by a resolution not to elect 'at present.' Then, in the vacation, some of the members of the Council proceeded to seek out a clerical candidate; and, apparently with the concurrence of Brougham and James Mill, Mr. Hoppus was recommended in November for the chair of Logic and the Philosophy of Mind which had been refused him in 1827. Grote was absent from the Council when this recommendation was made, and greatly resented Mill's desertion of the principle he had laid down. He resigned his place on the Council on February 2nd, 1830.[1]

John Hoppus,[2] who thus became the first professor of Philosophy at University College, entered upon his duties in 1830[3] and continued in office until 1866. He was an independent minister, who had been educated for a time at the Rotherham Independent College, but who afterwards studied at Edinburgh under Dugald Stewart, transferring later his terms to Glasgow in order to hear Chalmers' sermons, and ultimately graduating in Glasgow. He received the LL.D. degree of Glasgow in 1839, and was elected a F.R.S. in 1841. He had been for a short time (1824–5) Minister of Carter Lane Chapel, and had resigned on account of theological differences with his congregation. He had published a book on Bacon's *Novum Organum* in 1829. Dr. Hoppus was greatly interested in educational matters, and took a prominent part in the controversy as to popular education in 1847. He was Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Laws in 1837–8, and again in 1852–3. In philosophy he was a follower of Dugald Stewart, and his lectures on the 'Philosophy of Mind and Logic' were evidently mapped out very much on the model of Dugald Stewart's lectures in Edinburgh. 'The philosophy of the human mind,' so we are told in the *Plan of Instruction* of 1831,[4] 'consists in the investigation of its various powers and faculties, the order and succession of all its thoughts and feelings, their classification and their analysis. It is in short the contemplation of our intellectual nature, with a view to become more intimately acquainted with the phenomena of our own minds. Logic is a part of this philosophy; for it relates immediately to the process of reasoning, which is the most

[1] Minutes, i, ff. 327, 334, 367, 371; *cf.* A. Bain: *James Mill. A Biography*, 1882, 264; *D.N.B.*, viii, 729 b–730 a.

[2] *D.N.B.*

[3] J. Hoppus: *On the Study of the Philosophy of the Mind and Logic. An Introductory Lecture*, 1830; J. Hoppus: *An Essay on the Nature and Objects of the Course of Study in the Class of the Philosophy of the Human Mind and Logic in the University of London*, 2nd ed., 1830.

[4] *Cal.*, 1831, 94–101.

distinguished of the intellectual functions.' It is pointed out that not in the mere information which the student acquires in this class will the value of his studies in it consist ; that he will, if possible, gain still more by the effect which the intellectual discipline will have upon his faculties themselves, and on their employment in the whole business of his future life. 'The student is furnished by the Professor with such quantity of information in each Lecture as he may without any very great demand upon his time form into an abstract, at his leisure, from his short notes or from memory. Various authors who have written on the subject are pointed out to him ; and he is required, on each day of Lecture, to come prepared with his abstract, or short essay, into the Classroom, having added or substituted such illustrations as may have occurred to him. Every student, having thus put the substance of the preceding Lecture into his own language, several are called upon, each day, to read publicly in the class the result of their labours.'

The lectures, which were given three days a week throughout the session, were divided into three divisions, the first division comprising sensations and the intellectual faculties and states, the second logic as the analysis and art of reasoning, and the third the emotions. But Dr. Hoppus did not confine himself to the 'philosophy of mind and logic.' He lectured on the History of Philosophy and on Moral Philosophy. His lectures on the History of Philosophy would seem to have been thorough and exhaustive. For instance, in 1853–4 he appears to have dealt very fully with Descartes, Malebranche, Spinoza, Leibnitz, Kant and Fichte, and in 1854–5 with Locke, Wolff, Kant and Fichte. So again in 1857–8 he gave a course of lectures on Schelling, First Period 1795–1800, continuing the class in the next session on Schelling's later period from 1800 onwards. It is clear that he made a minute study of Kant and the Post-Kantian idealists, with whom there was at that time very little acquaintance in England. His lectures on Moral Philosophy were mainly historical in character. He discussed the ethical systems of Cudworth, Hobbes, Mandeville, Clarke, Price, Butler, Bentham and James Mill, and in his last courses he handled critically the problem of 'Liberty and Freewill.' . . .

During the thirty-six years of his tenure of the chair, Dr. Hoppus evidently devoted himself assiduously to his duties. It was in England a particularly barren period, so far as philosophical reflection was concerned. There was no philosophy, Bain said, south of the Tweed. No journal existed as a medium for communicating the results of research, and it was far from easy to bring out philosophical books. Dr. Hoppus did not, in those years, add anything to philosophical literature, and probably his thought moved along conventional lines. . . ."

As a teacher Hoppus failed. He almost killed the study of philosophy in the college.[1]

It is told of his later years that he—

"used to walk into college regularly at his appointed time, with the manuscript of his lecture in his hands, and a book and a newspaper under his arm. He took his seat in the little lecture room that used to be opposite the Council Room door. After his first or his second lecture he seldom had a pupil; because, burying his face in his manuscript, he mumbled so that only an acute ear could catch much of what he said, and those who caught something called it rot. But, nothing if not conscientious, pupil or no pupil, he sat out his hour, reading his book or his newspaper when alone, his manuscript, if any one came in. . . . One day a new student, not very conversant with the topography of the college, wandered by mistake into Professor Hoppus' lecture room, when the professor was sitting there alone. Down went the newspaper, out came the manuscript. But when the professor's head was buried in its leaves, the student discovered his mistake and left, silently and unobserved. For once the Lecture was read through, to the end, to empty benches, only Carron [the Arts Beadle] from time to time peering curiously round the partly open door." [2]

Hoppus took in boarders, and Bagehot lived with him during his student days.[3]

The establishment of a professorship of the English Language and Literature was an innovation, and the Rev. Thomas Dale [4] was the first to hold such a post in England, but neither he himself nor his immediate successors attacked their work with much vigour or imagination.

"My plan for the critical study of the English language as adapted to young men who have previously received the rudiments of a classical education," Dale said in his inaugural lecture, "embraces three great

[1] Mrs. Grote: *The Personal Life of George Grote*, 1873, 279; *Philosophical Remains of George Croom Robertson . . .* Edited by A. Bain . . . and T. Whittaker, 1894, 173; *Report from the Select Committee on Legal Education together with the Minutes of Evidence* [*etc.*]. H. of C., 686 of 1846, 101, X, 1.

[2] J. B. Benson: Some Recollections of University College in the Sixties [Typescript in the college library], f. 2; *cf.* Joseph Parker: *A Preacher's Life*, 1909, 76–7.

[3] Mrs. Russell Barrington: *Life of Walter Bagehot*, 1914, 101.

[4] *D.N.B.; Bulletin*, v, 1927–8, 118.

divisions. I. The History of the Language, comprehending a view of its origin, formation, progress, and perfection.—I use the term perfection in a relative sense (for absolute perfection can be predicated of no language whatever); but we may assume that a language to whose stock of words no material addition has been made for upwards of two centuries, may now be accounted *stationary*, or perfect in proportion to its capacity. II. The Philosophy of the Language; under which head I include the classification and analysis of its constituent parts, or sorts of words; their relation to, and dependence on, each other; the principles of pronunciation and orthography; the etymologies of words; the construction of sentences; the force and harmony of periods: in short, all that relates to the genius and structure of the language. III. The Use and Application of the Language in the various kinds of speaking and composition; commencing with the plain and perspicuous, and proceeding upward to the elevated and majestic style." [1]

"The part of the reverend gentleman's address which produced the most sensation," said *The Times*, "was that in which he emphatically declared his intention to omit no opportunity of impressing on the minds of the students who might attend his lectures the necessity of religious belief, and of holding up to their reprobation all writers, however splendid their abilities, the tendency of whose works was to bring religion into contempt." [2]

The Athenæum took him to task for suggesting that the object of education in the last analysis was that the student might occupy "a respectable, if not an eminent, position in society." [3] Yet Henry Solly found him an inspiring teacher.[4]

Dale resigned his chair in 1830, being presented to the incumbency of St. Matthew's Chapel, Denmark Hill. There he became the tutor of Ruskin. Ruskin seems to have learnt little from him either then or later when he attended his lectures at King's College. He called him his "severest and chiefly antagonist master"; yet he seems to have felt

[1] *An Introductory Lecture delivered in the University of London, on Friday, October* 24, 1828, 4th ed., 16–7.

[2] *The Times*, 25 Oct., 1828, 4 c.

[3] *The Athenæum*, 1828, 858 (5 Nov.); *cf. An Introductory Lecture delivered in the University of London, on Friday, October* 24, 1828, 4th ed., 8.

[4] H. Solly: "*These Eighty Years*," *or, The Story of an unfinished Life*, 2 v., 1893, i, 144–5.

some affection for him.[1] Dale is described by his granddaughter as "short, with thick hair, fair probably in those days, blue eyes, and firm square features. He was stern and impressive in manner. He was a man of power, an Evangelical leader, very much respected and admired by his following, but somewhat unbending in manner, austere to young people, but withal generous and charitable beyond his means. He had also a keen sense of humour, though no one could have held 'practical joking' in greater detestation."[2] He was presented by Peel to the living of St. Bride's, Fleet Street, in 1835, and became prebend and canon residentiary of St. Paul's, in companionship with Sydney Smith, and finally Dean of Rochester. He was professor of English at King's College from 1836 to 1839. He died in 1870. A voluminous writer, he published upwards of seventy works.

Dale was succeeded by Alexander Blair. He is an obscure figure, but the kind of work which he did is illustrated by his proposal to use the lectures of Dr. Hugh Blair as a textbook for his classes.[3] He had bad health. Hoppus did duty for him in the autumn of 1834,[4] and he resigned in 1836.[5]

To Blair succeeded Henry Rogers,[6] a young congregational minister, and a frequent contributor to various religious periodicals. First trained as a surgeon, he had been a student at Highbury College, and after an interval when he was assistant to the pastor of the Congregational Church at Poole, had returned to Highbury as lecturer in rhetoric and logic. This post he retained on his appointment to the university. Like his predecessors he seems to have devoted most of his time to the teaching of grammar and rhetoric. He resigned in 1839 to accept a chair at the newly-established Congregational insti-

[1] *The Works of John Ruskin.* Edited by E. T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, 39 v., 1903–12, i, pp. xlix–liii, 357, 377, ii, 455, xxxiv, 365, xxxv, 81–3, 177–8, 395; *cf.* R. W. Chambers: *Ruskin (and others) on Byron*, The English Association. Pamphlet No. 62, Nov. 1925, 19–20.

[2] *The Works of John Ruskin* [etc.], i, p. l. [3] Minutes, ii, f. 173.

[4] *Ibid.*, ii, f. 462. [5] *Cf. Ann. Rept.*, 1837, 10.

[6] *D.N.B.*; *Bulletin*, iv, 1926–7, 184; H. Rogers: *The Superhuman Origin of the Bible inferred from itself. With a Memoir by R. W. Dale*, 1893.

tution, Spring Hill College, Birmingham, and later succeeded Robert Vaughan as president of the Lancashire Independent College, Manchester. He was associated in his earlier days with some of the minor figures in our literary history, such as G. G. Cunningham and James Montgomery. Subsequently he was a contributor to *The Edinburgh Review*, and became intimate with Sir James Stephen and with Whately. He obtained great contemporary fame by a volume of theological controversy, *The Eclipse of Faith ; or a Visit to a Religious Sceptic*, which was published in 1852.

Rogers was succeeded by R. G. Latham.[1] Educated at Eton and Cambridge, Latham was primarily an ethnologist and philologian. After graduating in 1832, he studied in Germany, Denmark, and Norway, and at twenty-seven years of age received his appointment to the chair in 1839. A man of many parts, he turned to the study of medicine, and resigned in 1845, having become lecturer in forensic medicine and materia medica, and in 1844 assistant physician, at the Middlesex Hospital. These interests he in turn abandoned in 1849, and devoted himself for the remainder of his life to his ethnological and philological studies. Living at Putney he became acquainted with Gordon Hake.

" Latham," wrote Hake, " was a singular anomaly of our organization. No one could help liking and disliking him. He was logical in mind, illogical in action. . . . He dressed like a respectable clergyman. Then, from being a great man, he gradually became a little man, and dressed like a clergyman of a less reputable type ; his white necktie unlaundressed, his fine chin ill-shaven, his black coat unskilfully brushed, if at all ; but his eye and tongue continued in full practice for satire or fun. Unable to finance his own affairs, he thought his true function in life would have been that of Chancellor of the Exchequer, and that he had so missed his mark. A common saying of his, with an earnest look and his hand on a friend's shoulder, was ' will you lend me a sovereign that you will never see again ? ' . . . Latham had a very handsome person, with a smiling, knowing look, the most knowing I ever saw. He was decidedly of a kindly nature : fond of his family, genial to excess, recognisant of his friends. He was probably spoiled by falling into the worst habits of college life, instead of the best . . . Latham wanted much to meet Borrow at my table ; I told him it would

[1] *D.N.B.* ; *Bulletin*, v, 1927–8, 121.

not do. He said he would be on his best behaviour, and promised to say nothing that could offend the most sensitive. I proposed it to Borrow; he was willing, and they met. All, like most things else that are planned, began well. But with Latham life was a game of show. He had to put forth all his knowledge of subjects in which he deemed Borrow an adept. He began with horse-racing. Borrow quietly assented. He showed off all he knew of the ring. Borrow freely responded. He had to show what he knew of publishers, instancing the Longmans. Borrow said, 'I suppose you dine with your publishers sometimes?' It was Latham's opportunity; he could not resist it, and replied, 'Never; I hope I should never do anything so low. You do not dine with John Murray, I presume?' 'Indeed, I do,' said Borrow emotionally. 'He is a most kind friend. When I have had sickness in my house, he has been unfailing in his goodness towards me. There is no man I value more.' Latham's conversation was fast falling under the influence of wine; with this his better taste departed from him. 'I have heard,' he said, 'that you are a brave man over a bottle of good wine. Now, how many bottles can you get through at a sitting?' Borrow saw what the other was; he was resolved not to take offence at what was only impertinent and self-asserting, so he said, 'When I was in Madrid, I knew a priest who would sit down alone to his two bottles.' 'Yes,' replied Latham, with his knowing look, and his head on one side like a bird, 'but what I want to know is, how many bottles you can manage at one sitting?' 'I once knew another priest,' said Borrow, 'it was at Oporto; I have seen him get through two bottles by himself.' By this time Latham was a little unsteady; he slipped from his chair as if it had been an inclined plane, and lay on the carpet, on which he made his mark as betokening more than nausea. He was unable to rise, but he held his head up, with a cunning smile, saying, 'This must be a very disreputable house.'" [1]

Another Putney acquaintance was Theodore Watts-Dunton, and the latter wrote a memoir of him in *The Athenæum*. He was, said Watts-Dunton, a man "who for brilliance of intellect and encyclopædic knowledge had, in conversation at least, scarcely an equal among his contemporaries." But as a writer he was careless and devoid of the power of lucid statement.

"Like many of Latham's books," added Watts-Dunton in reference to one of them, "it bore marks of heedless haste and inaccuracy . . . I

[1] T. G. Hake: *Memoirs of Eighty Years*, 1892, 208–12.

forget whether it was in this book that Latham to the exceeding joy of certain hostile scholars printed some cuneiform characters upside down ! . . . such a mishap would not in the least degree show that Latham did not know the top from the bottom of a cuneiform character, but would show that to him accurate proof correcting was very difficult—almost an impossibility."

It was Latham who was the means of introducing Watts-Dunton to Hake and thus to Borrow and to Rossetti and his circle.[1] He contributed, under the name of The Travelling Bachelor, to the *Tipperary Ballads* published in *Bentley's Miscellany* in 1846.[2]

The chairs of History and of Geography had not been filled when the university opened in 1828. To the former the Council appointed in December, 1829, B. H. Malkin.[3] He delivered his introductory lecture in March.[4] He ceased to lecture before the end of the session, sending his son to the Warden to say that "from pecuniary difficulties" he could not continue.[5] He was an elderly man, and had been for nineteen years headmaster of the grammar school at Bury St. Edmunds. He was an early patron of Blake.[6] The vacancy in the chair was not filled until the appointment of Robert Vaughan[7] in 1833. He delivered his inaugural lecture in February, 1834, but did not begin his regular courses until the session of 1834–5.[8] One of the leaders of Congregational Nonconformity, he was at the time of his appointment a man of thirty-eight and pastor of the Hornton Street

[1] *The Athenæum*, 1888, i, 340–1 (17 March); T. Hake and A. Compton-Rickett: *The Life and Letters of Theodore Watts-Dunton*, 2 v., 1916, i, 63, 107.

[2] *Bentley's Miscellany*, 1846, xix, 186, 297, 413, 520, 626, xx, 92; *cf.* J. Sheean: *The Bentley Ballads, comprising the Tipperary Hall Ballads . . .*, 1869.

[3] *D.N.B.; Bulletin*, iv, 1926–7, 184; *Ann. Rept.*, 1830, 12; Minutes, i, f. 371.

[4] *An Introductory Lecture on History, delivered in the University of London, by Benjamin Heath Malkin*, 1830.

[5] Minutes, ii, f. 70.

[6] A. Gilchrist: *Life of William Blake . . .*, 2 v., 1880, i, 256.

[7] *D.N.B.; Bulletin*, iv, 1926–7, 185.

[8] *Ann. Rept.*, 1834, 7; *Evangelical Magazine*, n.s. xi, 1833, 578; R. Vaughan: *On the Study of General History. An Introductory Lecture*, 1834.

Chapel, Kensington. This ministry he continued to fulfil while he held the chair at the university. He resigned in 1839, there being but six students in his class,[1] to become in 1843 the first president of the Lancashire Independent College, Manchester, a post which he held until 1857, when he retired, in order to be free to devote himself to his literary labours, and was succeeded by Henry Rogers. He took an active part in the public life of Manchester, and was a great platform orator, a speech which he made on the occasion of the visit of Kossuth securing him mention in Landor's *Imaginary Conversations*. He holds a respectable place in the history of English historiography, and his inaugural lecture[2] is the product of a fresh and original mind. He was acquainted with the work of the German scholars, and insistent upon the importance of reference to the original authorities. He thought of history as political experiment, and sought to substitute analysis and resumption for narrative, insisting upon the importance of classification, and urging that the aim in history should be "not to declaim about it, or to cull out a series of its pictures, but everywhere to detect its spirit and its uses."

> "What is wanting in this department," he said, "is, I conceive, a course of instruction that may lead to a sound habit of criticism in regard to historical testimony; to a wise discrimination as to the value of historical facts; and to such a classification of these as may render them immediately illustrative of what is most important to be known in relation to the people with whose circumstances they are related. It is highly expedient that we should be able to distinguish between the fictions of distant time and its realities; and having ascertained what has really happened, our next solicitude should be to learn its uses, as a matter of experiment submitted to ourselves."[3]

He regarded the teaching of history so viewed as being, as it was, an experiment in education. It is worthy of notice that in the first *Statement* issued in 1827 the Council included

[1] Minutes, iii, 2 Feb., 1839.

[2] R. Vaughan: *On the Study of General History. An Introductory Lecture*, 1834.

[3] *Ibid.*, 21.

the teaching of the science of "Diplomatics" among the duties of the professor of History.[1]

No appointment was made to the chair of Geography until 1833, when the Council chose A. Maconochie,[2] Secretary to the Royal Geographical Society. On the occasion of the delivery of a public lecture he attracted large and distinguished audiences,[3] but he was unsuccessful in building up a school, and on his resignation in 1836 to take up an appointment in Tasmania the Council allowed the chair to remain empty.[4] But the services to geography of George Long and W. Wittich should not be forgotten.[5]

vi. Oriental and Modern Languages

It was not to be expected that the professors of Hebrew and Oriental Languages should play a very large part in the early history of the university, but the work of the latter forms a landmark in the history of philological studies in England.[6] Hurwitz[7] fulfilled Campbell's forebodings and offended the orthodox by treating the Bible as Hebrew literature. "The sacred volume," Sir Charles Wetherell was scandalised to observe, "is only to be estimated in the same manner as you would read Josephus, or Diodorus Siculus, or any Pagan historian."[8] He had only very small classes, and in 1830 proposed to discontinue unless a sufficient number of students entered,[9] but he retained the chair until his death in 1844.

[1] *Statement*, 36.

[2] Clements R. Markham: *The Fifty Years' Work of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1881, 35; *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, vi, 1836, 16, xxxi, 1861, p. cxxix.

[3] *The Times*, 17 Jan., 1834, 5 c; 15 Jan., 1835, 6 f.

[4] *Ann. Rept.*, 1837, 10.

[5] *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography*, i, 1879, 674; W. Wittich: *A Visit to the Western Coast of Norway*, 1848, viii–x.

[6] R. W. Chambers: *Philologists at University College*, 1927, 13–4.

[7] *D.N.B.*; *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 1925, vi, 507, *s.v.*, vi, 257 b, *s.* Haskalah.

[8] *Substance of the Speech of Sir Charles Wetherell before the Lords of the Privy Council, on the subject of Incorporating the London University*, 1834, 31; *cf.* 29–31.

[9] Minutes, i, f. 355; ii, f. 105.

Gilchrist seems not to have done any work in the university and resigned in 1829.[1] Rosen,[2] professor of Oriental Literature, resigned in 1831 in protest against the conduct of the Council towards Pattison,[3] and devoted himself to oriental studies, making a precarious living by writing. In February, 1834, the chair of Oriental Literature, however, was changed to one of Oriental Languages,[4] and a separate chair of Sanskrit was established. To the former the Council appointed Forbes Falconer.[5] The latter was offered to, and accepted by, Rosen. Key and Long attended his classes, and both owed a great debt to him in their application of comparative philology to the teaching of the classical languages.[6] But his strength was broken by overwork and the struggle for a bare subsistence, and his health broke down. He decided to return to Germany, but died in London in 1837, when he was barely thirty-two. He was a scholar of remarkable achievement, and his death was a grievous loss.

In 1837 the college accepted the gift of Robert Morrison's Chinese library on the condition of appointing a professor of Chinese for five years,[7] and Samuel Kidd[8] was elected to the office. A man of thirty-three, he had served as a missionary and had been professor of Chinese in the Anglo-Chinese College of Malacca. Ill-health compelled him to return to England in 1832, and he became a pastor at Manningtree in Essex. He died in 1843 while the renewal of his appointment was under discussion, and the post was

[1] Minutes, i, f. 318.

[2] *D.N.B.*; *Bulletin*, iv, 1926–7, 184, v, 1927–8, 122–3; F. Althaus: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Colonie in England. I. Orientalisten*, in *Unsere Zeit. Deutsche Revue der Gegenwart* . . . , Neue Folge, 9 Jahrg., 1 Hälfte, Leipzig, 1873, 436.

[3] Corres., No. 2152.

[4] *Ann. Rept.*, 1834, 7.

[5] *D.N.B.*; *Ann. Rept.*, 1834, 7–8.

[6] H. J. Mathews: *In Memoriam: George Long*, Brighton [?], 1879, 6; *D.N.B.*, xvii, 247 a; J. W. Donaldson: *The New Cratylus* . . . , 3rd ed., 1859, pp. vii, 55.

[7] *Cf.* J. Bennett: *The History of the Dissenters during the Last Thirty Years (From* 1808 to 1838), 1839, 469; *The Patriot*, vi, 325 (22 May, 1837); *Ann. Rept.*, 1838, 10.

[8] *D.N.B.*

allowed to remain vacant, except for the session 1861–2, until 1872.[1]

The elevation of the study of modern languages to the dignity of a professorial chair was an innovation. Merlet, the teacher of French, remained a mere teacher of the language until 1834, but was then promoted to an equality with the others who were professors of Literature and Language.[2] Von Mühlenfels gave expression to the aims of the university in his inaugural lecture.

> "I do hope, Gentlemen," he said, "that in the future records of this Institution, it will be registered as not the least among the many brilliant instances of enlightenment and scientific spirit evinced by the founders, that they in a dignified manner have allotted to the study of modern languages that place among the other branches of science to which it is justly entitled. Of all the Universities with which I happen to be acquainted, the University of London is the only one in which chairs for the modern languages and literature are established."[3]

Much, in particular, was expected from the effect of the contemporary interest in Latin America.[4] But the hopes were disappointed. All the classes were small, and some of the professors had none at all.[5] The revolution in France encouraged Galiano to resume his political activities, and he resigned in 1830,[6] and no successor was appointed.[7] Political changes enabled von Mühlenfels to return to Germany in 1831,[8] and his successors, E. Hausmann (1832–6) and W. Wittich[9] (1834–5, 1836–48), seem to have limited themselves to the

[1] *Cf. Ann. Rept.*, 1855, 7–8, 1859, 9, 1860, 11; *Cal.*, 1861, 8; *Ann. Rept.*, 1873, 14.

[2] Minutes, ii, ff. 432, 438.

[3] *An Introductory Lecture delivered in the University of London, on Thursday, October* 30, 1828, 2nd ed., 20–1.

[4] A. A. Galiano: *An Introductory Lecture delivered in the University of London, on Saturday, November* 15, 1828, 2nd ed., 15; *cf.* Corres., No. 543.

[5] Janet Ross: *Three Generations of Englishwomen*, 1893, 80.

[6] *Memorias de D. Antonio Alcalá Galiano publicadas por su hijo*, 2 v., Madrid, 1886, i, 513.

[7] *Ann. Rept.*, 1831, 8.

[8] Minutes, ii, ff. 312, 323.

[9] W. Wittich: *A Visit to the Western Coast of Norway*, 1848, v–xii; *Ann. Rept.*, 1848, 9.

teaching of the language, and the latter was explicitly appointed as a teacher of the German language and not as a professor.[1] Merlet (1828–60), in spite of his promotion, remains an obscure figure about whom nothing seems to be known. Panizzi resigned in 1837, and was succeeded by Count Carlo Pepoli (1838–47), a political exile, undistinguished as a scholar. Of the whole group von Mühlenfels and Panizzi alone were men of any considerable academic standing.

Born in Swedish Pomerania in 1793, the life of Ludwig von Mühlenfels was shaped by the French occupation of his homeland in 1808, and he played a notable part in the history of German unification. Educated at Greifswald, he took part in the rising against Napoleon and served in 1813, first in the Free Corps, and then under Bernadotte at Leipzig and in the autumn campaign against Denmark. Severely wounded in the war, he resumed his studies at Heidelberg in 1814, in preference to the northern Greifswald, and graduated doctor of laws in 1816. A leader at Heidelberg in the foundation of the *Burschenschaft*, he continued to take an active part in liberal politics after his appointment to a legal post in the Prussian service at Cologne in 1817, and although he kept clear of the more radical section led by Karl Follens, was arrested in July, 1819, in pursuance of the policy adopted at Karlsbad. Brought before the Commission of Enquiry at Berlin, he was ordered to be discharged, in spite of his refusal to recognise the tribunal or to plead his case, but higher authority intervened and he was detained in prison. There he was visited by his brother-in-law, Schleiermacher, by Mendelssohn, and by other prominent friends. In 1821 he effected his escape to Sweden. Passing through England in 1827, to join a band of fellow exiles bound for Mexico, he was appointed to the chair of German. In London his house became a meeting-place for members of the German colony, including Rosen, Klingemann, and Mendelssohn.[2] As a

[1] Minutes, iii, f. 155.

[2] Abschrift eines Lebenslaufs des Ludwig von Mühlenfels aus dem Archivmaterial, das sich über Mühlenfels im Preussischen Geheimen Staatsarchiv in Berlin-Dahlem befindet, in the college library; L. von Mühlenfels: *Berichtigung einiger mich betreffenden Angaben in der Schrift des Herrn Staats-Ministers*

lecturer he attracted considerable notice. He was in personal touch with much of that which was most vital in German thought. An outspoken, independent, and progressive thinker, he brought the critical methods of German scholarship to the discussion of such sacrosanct topics as primitive mythology and the reformation, and in so doing gave offence to the orthodox.[1] He worked for the *Foreign Review*,[2] and besides his inaugural lecture published a German anthology and *An Introduction to a Course of German Literature*.[3]

The most notable colleague of von Mühlenfels in the teaching of modern languages was Panizzi.

[4] "Antonio Panizzi, born in 1797 at Brescello in the duchy of Modena, graduated at the University of Parma in 1818 in the faculty of Law. He joined the Carbonari in 1820. Arrested in May, 1822, he escaped to Lugano, where he published *I processi di Rubiera*, a scathing denunciation of the iniquitous treatment of the real or supposed conspirators by the ducal government. Sentenced to death in absence as contumacious, he came to England, and . . . was appointed to the professorship of Italian in the University of London, a post to which in 1831 he added that of assistant librarian at the British Museum. Suitable text books being lacking, he began by the publication of an *Elementary Italian Grammar for the Use of Students in the London University* and

von Kamptz 'Prüfung der grellen Irrthümer des Stadtgerichts-Raths Simon,' Berlin, 1845; *Ein Lützowscher Reiter*, in *Die Grenzboten*, 20 Jahrg., iv Bd., Leipzig, 1861, 481–500; *Ludwig von Mühlenfels*, *ibid.*, 21 Jahrg., iii Bd., 1862, 248–73; *Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte der Burschenschaft und der deutschen Einheitsbewegung*. Herausg. von H. Haupt, vii Bd., *Hundert Jahre deutscher Burschenschaft*, Heidelberg, 1921, 3–16.

[1] G. Pearson: *The Danger of Abrogating the Religious Tests and Subscriptions which are at present required from persons proceeding to degrees in the Universities, considered in a letter to His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, K.G., Chancellor of the University of Cambridge*, Cambridge, 1834, 17–24.

[2] Abschrift eines Lebenslaufs des Ludwig von Mühlenfels aus dem Archivmaterial, das sich über Mühlenfels im Preussischen Geheimen Staatsarchiv in Berlin-Dahlem befindet [Typescript in the college library], f. 7.

[3] *A Manual of German Literature, containing classical specimens of German prose and poetry systematically arranged, for the use of the Students in the London University*, 2 v., 1830; *An Introduction to a Course of German Literature; in Lectures to the Students of the University of London*, 1830.

[4] Professor E. G. Gardner: Department of Italian [Typescript in the college library], ff. 1–3; *cf.* L. Fagan: *Life of Sir Anthony Panizzi . . .* 2 v., 1880.

Extracts from Italian Prose Writers (both 1828), and, in the same year, published, in the *Foreign Review and Continental Miscellany*, a powerful confutation of the fantastic theories on Dante of Gabriele Rossetti. It was while holding the chair that his great work was produced; the famous edition of the *Orlando Innamorato* of Boiardo and the *Orlando Furioso* of Ariosto with *An Essay on the Romantic Narrative Poetry of the Italians*, in nine volumes (1830–34). Particularly in the case of Boiardo, this work was of abiding value. It restored the poet of Scandiano to his place in Italian literature, giving—for the first time since the early part of the sixteenth century—the *Innamorato* in its genuine form instead of the hitherto generally accepted *rifacimento* of Berni. In 1835 he followed this up with an edition of Boiardo's lyrics. In July, 1837, Panizzi was appointed Keeper of the Printed Books, and in the following year, having resigned his professorship, he began the Museum Catalogue, framing the rules in which, as Richard Garnett says, he 'proved himself the greatest legislator the world of librarianship had yet seen.' He succeeded Sir Henry Ellis as Principal Librarian in 1856, and held the position until 1866, when he resigned. The present Reading Room, with its annexes, is practically his creation, and by his work at the Museum he has stamped his personality upon scholarship not only in this country but throughout the world. It naturally left him little time for private research, but he edited for Lord Vernon the sumptuous reprint of the first four editions of the *Divina Commedia* in 1858. He filled an unobtrusive but important part in politics, largely inspiring the pro-Italian sympathies of Palmerston, Russell, and Gladstone, whom he kept in touch with the patriots who were making Italy. He became a Senator of the Kingdom of Italy, and was made a K.C.B. in 1869. He died in 1879. In 1912 a monument to him was erected at Brescello."

Pepoli, who succeeded him, although of no great account as a scholar, was an interesting figure.

[1] "Born in 1796, he was a member of a noble Bolognese family, and a friend of Leopardi, who, in 1826, addressed to him the well-known poem *Questo affannoso e travagliato sonno*. In the revolution against the Papal Government in 1831, Pepoli (who was professor of Philosophy at the University) formed part of the Provisional Government of the City and Province of Bologna. He was one of the patriots who (with General Zucchi) capitulated at Ancona, embarked for France, were intercepted by an Austrian squadron, and imprisoned at Venice.

[1] Professor E. G. Gardner, *loc. cit.*, f. 3.

In his inaugural lecture . . .,[1] apologising for his pronunciation of English, he says: 'I shall be content when I can address the students here in the lofty language of Shakespeare, and hear them reply in the noble diction of Dante.' He resigned in 1846, took part as a deputy in the Roman Republic, 1849, and returned finally to Bologna after the liberation of Romagna and Emilia in 1859. He died in 1881. Pepoli enjoyed some reputation as a poet of the classical school. He translated the Gospel of St. Matthew into the Bolognese dialect. If his prose essays have not left any mark on Italian scholarship, his *epigrafi* and memorial discourses were highly esteemed, and collections of them have been published at Bologna (especially *Quattro centurie delle iscrizioni italiane di Carlo Pepoli*, Bologna, 1881). In collaboration with Bellini, he was the author of the once celebrated opera *I puritani e i cavalieri*, which was performed both in England and in Italy."

vii. Science

Those departments which were subsequently combined to form the Faculty of Science held a very different position in the early years of the history of the college from that which they hold now. To-day there is some danger lest Arts should be eclipsed by Science. In the 'thirties, a fear was expressed lest the General Department, as it was called, should be overwhelmed by the Medical School. In this General Department the sciences were included, and there was no separate science degree. But the scientific chairs were filled by many men of distinction, and in retrospect their work is seen to have been more important than was perhaps always realised by their contemporaries.

[2] "The Department of Chemistry," writes Professor Collie, "has from the foundation played a prominent part in the development of the science of Chemistry. The laboratory was one of the first[3] . . . open to students for practical work; its professors, men who have left an abiding impression on their science. Originally . . . two professorships of Chemistry were contemplated, the one in Pure Chemistry, the other in Applied, or, to use its fuller title, 'The Application of

[1] C. Pepoli: *On the Language and Literature of Italy. An Inaugural Lecture . . .*, 1838.

[2] Professor J. Norman Collie: *A Century of Chemistry*, 1927, 5.

[3] *Cf.* A. Grant: *The Story of the University of Edinburgh during its First Three Hundred Years*, 2 v., 1884, ii, 398.

Chemistry to the Arts.' The second post was not filled, and considerable hesitation was shown in the selection of a candidate for the first. In those days chemists possessed also medical qualifications, Chemistry and Medicine went hand in hand, and a chemical reputation led to a lucrative medical practice which paid much better than a chemical professorship. . . ."

Although the university established a separate chair in the subject and included it in the General Department, yet the professor's inaugural lecture was given in conjunction with those of his medical colleagues, before the courses in arts and science began,[1] the courses in chemistry ran from October to May in conformity with the medical classes,[2] and the appointment of Turner's successor was virtually in the hands of the medical professors.[3] A laboratory for courses in Practical Chemistry was provided from the start, as well as the private laboratory of the professor,[4] and such a course was begun in the spring of 1829.[5]

The first holder of the chair of Chemistry was Edward Turner.[6]

[7] " Edward Turner was born in Jamaica in 1798. While he was still young, his family moved to Edinburgh, and he was sent to the University. He took a medical course, being specially interested in anatomy, and obtained his M.D. degree in 1819. From Edinburgh he went to Göttingen and studied Chemistry under Stromeyer. He returned to Edinburgh and obtained an appointment as Lecturer in Chemistry in the University and was made Chemical Editor of Brewster's *Scientific Journal*. His time during his tenure of the Chair of Chemistry at University College was occupied in analytical work, and in the writing of two books, the first, *An Introduction to the Laws of Chemical Combination and the Atomic Theory*, the second, *The Elements of Chemistry*. The latter rapidly obtained a European reputation. It was

[1] Minutes, i, f. 222.

[2] *Cf. London University Magazine*, i, 1829, 120, table.

[3] R. Angus Smith: *The Life and Works of Thomas Graham*, Glasgow, 1884, 39.

[4] *Cf.* App. I, B, i, No. 69, 6.

[5] Minutes, i, f. 281; *cf. Lancet, MDCCCXXXIII–XXXIV*, ii, 331, 364–6; Turner to the Education Committee, 2 March, 1829, Corres., Box xxxi.

[6] *D.N.B.*; *Bulletin*, iv, 1926–7, 185.

[7] Professor J. Norman Collie: *A Century of Chemistry*, 1927, 8–10.

translated into German, and for many years was regarded as the standard work. The part dealing with Organic Chemistry was the first tolerably complete account of organic chemistry in the English language. Eight editions of this book were produced, and in the later editions the organic part is associated with the name of the great German chemist Liebig. Turner made no great discoveries ; he was chiefly interested in accurate analytical work. He writes, 'the various opposite theoretical views which prevail makes it very difficult to avoid doubting opinions and analyses. The era of brilliant chemical discoveries has terminated. It is better to review the information and critically examine than to prepare new compounds.' Along these lines Turner did excellent work. Several of his methods of analysis are those used in the present day ; they were carried out with great precision. His determinations of the atomic weights of various elements were published in a paper in 1833, and although before he began his investigations he was a supporter of the theory of Prout that all atomic weights should be whole numbers, yet at the end of the paper he writes, 'Under such circumstances, Dr. Prout's hypothesis, that all atomic weights are simple multiples of that of hydrogen, can no longer be maintained.' It is interesting to note that modern determinations of atomic weights entirely bear out Turner's conclusions. Also that the atomic weights which Turner obtained by experiment agree to the first place of decimals with the most accurate atomic weights of to-day.

Turner's activities led him into fields other than chemistry. After he came to London he joined the Geological Society and became Secretary in 1830, and Vice-President in 1835. It is interesting to note that in addition to his Chemical Professorship Turner also was Lecturer in Geology. His connection with Geology is shown in a number of papers dealing with analyses of minerals and investigations into naturally-occurring substances, and his last important paper was written to elucidate the formation of minerals, especially the decomposition of silicates in nature, by the action of high-pressure steam on glass. He also took up the study of mathematics and writes :—'The time has now come when the chemist could not hope to follow out the fortunes of his science, and to read in her discoveries their full meaning, without being acquainted with the language and resources of mathematics.' In 1836 his health gave way, and he was compelled to give up research. From this break-down he never recovered, and he died in 1837 at the early age of thirty-nine. Turner was a careful and painstaking worker, rather than a great original thinker. He was an ardent admirer of the Swedish chemist Berzelius, and was one of the very few exponents of his views in this country. There is little doubt that he was very popular with his

colleagues and with his students. The President of the Geological Society wrote :—'He was there surrounded by his students whose affection he gained by his kindness, as well as their admiration by the clearness of his teaching.'"

Prestwich, who was one of his students, spoke of him as a popular and excellent teacher.[1] There is a bust of him by Butler in the General Library. During his term of office, a practical class was conducted by Robert Warington.[2] Turner himself had had such a class in Edinburgh.[3]

Turner was succeeded by Thomas Graham.[4]

[5] "He was born in Glasgow in 1805. After studying under T. Thomson he went to Edinburgh and worked under Dr. Hope ; in 1830 he became lecturer at the Andersonian Institute in Glasgow, and left that post to come to London. In chemical science as in all forms of knowledge there are periods of rapid development, and associated with these periods are the names of great men. Thomas Graham was one of these great pioneers. Coming at the end of the great advance in chemical science made by Dalton, Davy, and Berzelius, Graham linked up that period with the chemical science of to-day. If along the high road of chemistry temples were erected to the memory of the master-minds who moulded and guided the science forward into the unknown future, one of the greatest of these would be to the memory of Thomas Graham. Like all great men his mind turned towards fundamental ideas. The movements of the ultimate particles of matter was the problem that he attacked, and his discoveries in this field of research are of an importance that cannot receive too high praise. Like so many great discoveries, those of Graham came from apparently small beginnings. In 1831 he began the investigation of the diffusion of gases, and this led him later to the diffusion of liquids and of solids dissolved in liquids. At first sight these experiments do not appear to be of great importance, but the laws which Graham discovered, deduced from his experiments, lie at the bottom of chemistry ; they are fundamental. The value of this region of experimental science dawns upon us when we

[1] *Life and Letters of Sir Joseph Prestwich. . . .* Written and Edited by his Wife, 1899, 20.

[2] *Ibid. ; Second Statement*, 65.

[3] R. Angus Smith : *The Life and Works of Thomas Graham*, Glasgow, 1884, 29, 30–1 ; Turner to the Education Committee, 2 March, 1829, Corres., Box xxxi.

[4] *D.N.B.*

[5] Professor J. Norman Collie : *A Century of Chemistry*, 1927, 10–12, 23–4.

remember that all the chemical processes that go on in plants and animals are governed by the diffusion of the gases of the air into the leaves of plants or the lungs of animals, and by the diffusion of liquids or of dissolved solids through the membranes of plants and animals. All the processes that are necessary for the living organism to receive its food in a condition fit for assimilation depend on diffusion of gases, and diffusion of liquids or dialysis. The laws that govern these processes Graham discovered. In 1854 he left University College and succeeded Sir John Herschel as Master of the Mint.

During the whole period of Graham's scientific life he devoted all his energies to the foregoing themes. The temptations of technical chemistry, by yielding to which he would soon have secured a fortune, he disregarded. He dedicated his life to the nobler object of advancing the bounds of natural knowledge and so adding to those truths which must ever remain for the good and furtherance of humanity. He was one of the founders and first president of the Chemical Society. In many respects he was ahead of his time. Capable of the most careful and painstaking work, at the same time he was able to make the widest generalisations; for instance, how many chemists thirty years ago would have agreed with the following idea of Graham's :—'It is conceivable that the various kinds of matter now recognised as different elementary substances may possess one and the same ultimate molecule existing in different conditions of movement.' The discovery of the electron has given us that 'one and the same ultimate molecule,' and now one of the most important problems that both chemists and physicists are trying to solve is the 'different conditions of movement' of the electron in all elementary substances. . . . The keynote . . . of Graham's main scientific work was the investigation of phenomena dependent on molecular motion. . . . When we consider the extraordinary extent and variety of [his] researches on this central theme, carried out at a time when little knowledge existed concerning the physical nature of atoms and molecules, still less of their hidden motions, we are justified in assigning to his work in this field an importance equalled only by that of the investigations of modern physical science. After his discovery of the law relating to the diffusion of gases, he turned to the study of the rates of diffusion of dissolved substances, and made discoveries of equal if not greater importance . . . By means of . . . numerous . . . researches [he] laid the foundation of that extensive branch of science now known as 'Colloid Chemistry.'"

Playfair recalled him as "a singularly plain man, though his expression was full of intelligence. As a professor," he

added, speaking of the Glasgow days, "he was unable to keep discipline among his students, and his expository powers were not of a high order. To earnest students his lectures were full of matter, but to the ordinary attendants at his class they were obscure."[1] Later, in London, he found, "the students . . . as badly kept in order as those at Glasgow."[2] Roscoe worked under him. "The majority of the class," he wrote, "consisted of medical students, the remainder being made up of arts men, for in those days no science faculty or science degree existed. The illustrations to his lectures were prepared and carried out with the greatest possible care, every experiment succeeding; this was chiefly due, however, to an intelligent lecture assistant who was a good manipulator. Graham was a good expositor, and we learnt much from his lectures, but he was nothing of an orator nor even a fluent speaker, often failing for want of words, and pointing with both hands without speaking to indicate the result of an experiment." He recounts a demonstration made by the medical students as a protest against the expulsion of two of their number by the Council, and the impotent dignity with which it was met by Graham.[3] Graham gave up the practice of reading his lectures when he came to London. "At Sharpey's advice I have thrown away the papers," he wrote to his sister in 1837, "and for a few days past have been extemporizing. I am satisfied that it is the true system, and will come to be much the easiest in the end."[4] But he found that he needed for it to be both in good health and good spirits, and although driven by an overmastering ambition he is described in early life as showing a lack of vitality. "I incline to call him," wrote Angus Smith, "the founder of the practical system of teaching Chemistry, at least in this country. Liebig was two years older, and opened his Giessen Laboratory in 1826; Graham began his very naturally, and

[1] Wemyss Reid: *Memoirs and Correspondence of Lyon Playfair . . .*, 1899, 38.

[2] *Ibid.*, 42.

[3] *The Life and Experiences of Sir Henry Enfield Roscoe . . .* Written by Himself, 1906, 28–9.

[4] R. Angus Smith: *The Life and Works of Thomas Graham*, Glasgow, 1884, 41–2.

not by imitation. His pupils wanted work, and he gave them his to do. He early got into a very languid mode of life, owing to simple constitutional want of elasticity. The work on water of crystallization was all done in these early days at the Andersonian, whilst Graham himself sat looking at the fire in weather not at all wet or cold, too languid even to look at the experiments."[1]

In 1838, the Council, "under conviction of the importance of efficient instruction in Practical Chemistry, . . . incurred the expense necessary for adapting for the purposes of that school, the room hitherto used for Practical Anatomy."[2] The attendance at his lectures was large. He counted 232 in 1837.[3] He brought with him from Glasgow, as his assistant, James Young.[4]

The department of Natural Philosophy embraced physics and what would now be called applied mathematics.

[5] "The principal work of the department appears to have had relation to Mechanics, Dynamics, and Hydrostatics, but lectures were also given on Astronomy, Optics, and Heat. A Museum of Natural Philosophy had been founded, containing apparatus intended to illustrate the lectures. In the *Calendar* for 1830–31 [6] . . . it is described as containing :—(i) Instruments for philosophical research and experimental demonstration, e.g., air pumps of the very best description, electric and galvanic machines ; (ii) working models of machines on a large scale ; (iii) wooden models of minute and delicate instruments ; (iv) sectional models. In the lectures, 'as much mathematical investigation is introduced as the generality of students are able to comprehend. At the same time, as most of the subjects treated can be satisfactorily

[1] R. Angus Smith: *The Life and Works of Thomas Graham*, Glasgow, 1884, 66.

[2] *Ann. Rept.*, 1839, 9.

[3] R. Angus Smith: *The Life and Works of Thomas Graham*, Glasgow, 1884, 42, *cf.* 41.

[4] *D.N.B.*

[5] Professor A. W. Porter: Department of Physics [Typescript in the college library], f. 1.

[6] 224–5 ; *cf. Second Statement*, 29 ; D. Lardner: *A Discourse on the Advantages of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy, as part of a general and professional education. Being an Introductory Lecture delivered in the University of London, on the 29th October*, 1828, 1829, iii–vi.

demonstrated or illustrated by experiment, recourse is had to the apparatus provided by the University for the purpose, which is very extensive and has been selected solely with a view to instruction. . . . The Course consists of Lectures mixed with interlocutory instruction and frequent examinations, it being understood, however, that no Student whose age permits him to judge for himself is required to submit to examination of any description.'[1] A register is still in existence containing details of apparatus bought in the years 1828–9. A considerable amount of this apparatus has survived to the present time, and some of it is in general use."

The first incumbent of the chair of Natural Philosophy was the Rev. Dr. Dionysius Lardner.[2] He made up in contemporary notoriety what he lacks in more lasting fame. Lardner, his apparatus, his courses, and his salary, caused more pother than almost any other topic in the early history of the college, and he occupies a very disproportionate amount of the early Minutes of the Sessions of the Council. He figured equally prominently in the public eye. He was a very successful popular lecturer, and a man of unbounded energy and great literary activity. Crabb Robinson met him at Lady Blessington's in company with Bulwer, Trelawney, D'Orsay, and Disraeli,[3] and he moved more freely than any other of the professors in the fashionable literary society of his time. His inaugural address was a sensational success.[4] His public lectures were well attended and highly appreciated. And his apparatus won favour where the more austere learning of some of his colleagues failed. It gave notoriety to his lectures and afforded a diversion to the aristocracy.

"Breakfasted with Rogers," wrote Moore in June, 1829, "company, Sharp, Lord Lansdowne, and Hallam, . . . Went to the London University, in consequence of an invitation from Dr. Lardner to meet Lord and Lady Stafford, &c. &c.; to whom he was to

[1] *Cal.*, 1831, 59.

[2] *D.N.B.*

[3] *Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson.* Edited by Thomas Sadler, 3 v., 1869, iii, 109.

[4] *The Morning Chronicle*, 29 Oct., 1828, 2 e; D. Lardner: *A Discourse on the Advantages of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy, as part of a general and professional education* . . ., iii.

display his sections of machinery. As I was fearful of not being back in time to dress for Lord Essex's early dinner, Lady Carlisle very good-naturedly hurried away and took me home." [1]

His best remembered literary work is the *Cabinet Cyclopædia* which he edited in 133 volumes between 1829 and 1849. But probably his surest claim to immortality is his appearance in *The Yellowplush Papers*.[2]

" being a Whig it's the fashn, as you know, to reseave littery pipple ; and accordingly, at dinner, tother day, whose name do you think I had to hollar out on the fust landing-place about a wick ago ? After several dukes and markises had been enounced, a very gentell fly drives up to our doar, and out steps two gentlemen. One was pail, and wor speckticklers, a wig, and a white neckcloth. The other was slim with a hook nose, a pail fase, a small waist, a pare of falling shoulders, a tight coat, and a catarack of black satting tumbling out of his busm, and falling into a gilt velvet weskit. The little genlmn settled his wigg, and pulled out his ribbins ; the younger one fluffed the dust of his shoos, looked at his wiskers in a little pockit-glas, settled his crevatt ; and they both mounted up stairs.

' What name, sir ? ' says I, to the old genlmn.

' Name !—a ! now, you thief o' the wurrld,' says he, ' do you pretind nat to know *me* ? Say it's the Cabinet Cyclopa—no, I mane the Litherary Chran—psha !—bluthanowns !—say it's Docthor Dioclesian Larner—I think he'll know me now—ay, Nid ? ' But the genlmn called Nid was at the botm of the stare, and pretended to be very busy with his shoo-string. So the little genlmn went up stares alone.

' Doctor Diolesius Larner ! ' says I.

' Doctor Athanasius Lardner ! ' says Greville Fitz-Roy, our secknd footman, on the fust landing-place.

' **Doctor Ignatius Loyola !** ' says the groom of the chambers, who pretends to be a schollar ; and in the little genlmn went . . .

. . . the two littery genlmn behaved very well, and seamed to have good appytights ; igspecially the little Irishman in the Whig, who et, drunk, and talked as much as ½ a duzn. He told how he'd been presented at cort by his friend, Mr. Bulwig, and how the quean had received 'em both with a dignity undigscribable, and how her blessid majisty asked

[1] *Memoirs, Journal, and Correspondence of Thomas Moore.* Edited by The Rt. Hon. Lord John Russell, 8 v., 1853–6, vi, 44.

[2] *The Yellowplush Correspondence, No. IX*, in *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*, xviii, No. civ, Aug. 1838, 195–6.

what was the bony fidy sale of the Cabinit Cyclopædy, and how he (Doctor Larner) told her that, on his honner, it was under ten thowsnd. . . .

The cumpany reseaved this annountsmint with mute extonishment.

'Pray, Doctor Larnder,' says a spiteful genlmn, willing to keep up the littery conversation, 'what is the Cabinet Cyclopædia?'

'It's the littherary wontherr of the wurrld,' says he; 'sure your lordship have seen it; the latther numbers ispicially—cheap as durrt, bound in gleezed calico, six shillings a vollum. The illusthrious neems of Walther Scott, Thomas Moore, Docther Southey, Sir James Mackintosh, Docther Donovan and meself, are to be found in the list of conthributors. It's the Phaynix of Cyclopajies—a litherary Bacon.'

'A what?' says the genlmn nex to him.

'A Bacon, shining in the darkness of our age; fild wid the pure end lambent flame of science, burning with the gorrgeous scintillations of divine litherature—a *monumintum*, in fact, *are perinnius*, bound in pink calico, six shillings a vollum.'"

Thackeray also drew a series of caricatures of him under the name of Dionysius Diddler.[1] There is a delightful portrait of him in *Fraser's Magazine* for July, 1832.

His regular courses were not very successful, and he was discontented with the salary which he derived from them, and found that he could make a much larger income by literary work.[2] He resigned his chair in the university in 1831. In 1840 he eloped with Mrs. Heaviside, the wife of Captain Richard Heaviside, a cavalry officer, was involved in an action for seduction, and had to pay £8,000 damages. He went to the United States, and by a lecturing tour there and in Cuba is said to have made £40,000. In 1845 he returned to Europe and settled in Paris. Mrs. Heaviside's marriage being dissolved by an act of parliament in the same year, and the formal divorce from his own wife, from whom he had parted by mutual consent in 1820, secured in 1849, the couple married. He died at Naples in 1859.

He was succeeded in the chair of Natural Philosophy in Jan., 1832, by the Rev. William Ritchie.[3]

[1] *The Autographic Mirror* (*L'Autographe Cosmopolite*), *containing Facsimiles of Documents, Letters, etc.* . . ., 1864, 6, 15, 28, 39, 40, 60, 68, 76.

[2] *London University Magazine*, ii, 1830, 72–3, 453; Minutes, i, ff. 251–2; *Distribution of the Prizes and of the Certificates of Honours* . . ., 1829, 7.

[3] *D.N.B.*; Minutes, ii, f. 339.

[1] "Ritchie had been educated for the Church of Scotland, but became Rector of the Royal Academy of Tain in Ross-shire. He saved money to enable him to go to Paris, where he attended the lectures of Thénard, Gay-Lussac, and Biot. He was very skilful in devising and performing experiments in natural philosophy. He became known to Sir John Herschel through whom he communicated papers to the Royal Society. He is best known for a new form of Photometer and for his differential air thermometer. He published, however, many papers on radiant heat and several on the magneto-electrical phenomena recently discovered by Faraday. He investigated the torsional elasticity of glass fibres in connection with their use in the suspension of galvanometer needles. His experimental work is of much more value than his theoretical contributions to knowledge. He died in 1837."

On the death of Ritchie the chair was held for four years at the outset of his career, by J. J. Sylvester,[2] a former student. One of the great mathematicians of the century, the story of his activities belongs in the main to other institutions. Second Wrangler in 1837, he was a member of the Jewish faith and found further progress in his academic career at Cambridge blocked by religious tests. He was twenty-three when he came to London. He left in 1841 to take the chair of Mathematics in the University of Virginia, of which the first holder had been Key. He was an inspiring but baffling teacher. Consumed by whatever engaged his understanding at the moment, he could pay attention to nothing else, and the combination with this abandonment of a peculiarly acute mind, which could never pass over a difficulty or accept anything until it had made it its own, rendered him quite incapable of the methodical pursuit of a predetermined course. There are many descriptions of him as he was known to his students at Johns Hopkins University in his later years.

"He could not lecture on a subject which was not at the same time engaging his attention," wrote W. P. Durfee. "His lectures were generally the result of his thought for the preceding day or two, and often were suggested by ideas that came to him while talking. The one great

[1] Professor A. W. Porter: Department of Physics [Typescript in the college library], f. 2.

[2] *D.N.B.*; A. MacFarlane: *Lectures on Ten British Mathematicians of the Nineteenth Century*, 1916, 106–21.

advantage that this method had for his students was that everything was fresh, and we saw, as it were, the very genesis of his ideas. One could not help being inspired by such teaching, and many of us were led to investigate on lines which he touched upon. . . . His manner of lecturing was highly rhetorical and elocutionary. When about to enunciate an important or remarkable statement he would draw himself up till he stood on the very tips of his toes, and in deep tones thunder out his sentences. He preached at us at such times, and not infrequently he wound up by quoting a few lines of poetry to impress on us the importance of what he had been declaring. I remember distinctly an incident that occurred when he was at work on his Universal Algebra. He had jumped to a conclusion which he was unable to prove by logical deduction. He stated this fact to us in the lecture, and then went on, 'GENTLEMEN' (here he raised himself on his toes), 'I am *certain* that my conclusion is correct. I will WAGER a hundred pounds to *one*; yes, I will WAGER my *life* on it.' The capitals indicate when he rose on his toes and the italics when he rocked back on to his heels. In such bursts as these he always held his hands tightly clenched and close to his side, while his elbows stuck out in the plane of his body, so that his bended arm made an angle of about 140°." [1]

It has been seen that the founders intended to establish at the start a department of engineering, and actually appointed J. Millington to the chair, but that he resigned before the university opened on account of the failure of the Council to guarantee to him what he regarded as a sufficient salary.[2] The chair therefore was not effectively established at this date, and the Council was only able to advertise occasional lectures in the subject.[3] The proposal was revived in 1833,[4] but provoked a protest from the professor of Natural Philosophy, who regarded it as an invasion of his province and a menace to his salary.[5] In consequence special courses on Civil Engineering were given by Ritchie and by his successor, supplemented by courses by the professors of Mathematics

[1] F. Cajori: *The Teaching and History of Mathematics in the United States. U.S. Bureau of Education, Circular of Information, No.* 3, Washington, 1890, 267–8.

[2] *Cf. supra*, p. 40; *Statement*, 37–8.

[3] *Second Statement*, 11. [4] *Ann. Rept.*, 1833, 8.

[5] Minutes, ii, ff. 383, 401.

and of Chemistry,[1] and the chair was not established until 1841.[2] But the Council had the matter constantly in mind, and were in close touch with the Institute of Civil Engineers.[3] At one stage Brougham proposed to found a chair out of the donation of A Patriot.[4]

The establishment of the department of Botany was embarrassed by the difficulty of providing a Botanic Garden. The Council at first hoped to obtain a garden within a short distance of the university,[5] but were disappointed, and before the end of 1827 were constrained to give up the project of having one of their own, and thereby lost the services of Hooker.[6] The first professor had to use that of the Horticultural Society.[7] But there were also more serious difficulties to contend with. "Humboldt, the great traveller, on his return from America," records Crabb Robinson, "was presented to the Emperor Napoleon. . . . 'Vous aimez la botanique,' said the Emperor to him, 'et ma femme aussi,' and passed on."[8] [9] "As a university subject . . . Botany was at a low ebb, and its inclusion as a university chair probably depended less on the inherent claims of the subject to recognition than on the requirements of the medical curriculum. For, whilst the Linnean period waned, the active revival of Botany associated with Robert Brown and the Hookers had yet to culminate."

Hooker, the first to be appointed to the chair, was, as has already been stated, replaced by John Lindley.[10]

[1] *University of London. Distribution of the Prizes and Certificates of Honour . . .*, 1833, 3; *Ann. Rept.*, 1836, 16, 1837, 27, 1839, 8.

[2] *Ann. Rept.*, 1842, 6.

[3] Minutes, iii, ff. 120, 126, 127–9, 137, 156, & 9 June, 7 July, 1838, 13 July, 1839.

[4] Minutes, iii, 25.

[5] *Statement*, 19.

[6] Minutes, i, f. 119; *Ann. Rept.*, 1828, 6.

[7] J. Lindley: *An Introductory Lecture delivered in the University of London, on Thursday, April* 30, 1829, 25.

[8] *Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson.* Edited by Thomas Sadler, 3 v., 1869, i, 217.

[9] Professor F. W. Oliver: Botany [MS. in the college library], f. 1.

[10] *D.N.B.; Bulletin*, iv, 1926–7, 184; *Makers of British Botany. A Collection of Biographies by Living Botanists.* Edited by F. W. Oliver, 1913, 164–77.

The son of a horticulturist, Lindley was educated at Norwich Grammar School under Valpy, of whom Hooker had previously been a pupil. After serving in Belgium as the agent of a London seed merchant, he devoted himself to the study of botany. Coming to London as assistant librarian to Sir Joseph Banks, to whom he was introduced by Hooker, he became engaged in the publication of various botanical works. In 1822 he was appointed garden assistant-secretary to the Horticultural Society and became sole assistant-secretary in 1826. He was twenty-nine years old when elected to the chair at the university. He held it until 1860. He by no means accepted a subordinate position for his subject.

"Of this, at least, I am well convinced," he said in his inaugural lecture, at which Robert Brown was present,[1] "that if Botany, or any other science, cannot be taught upon philosophical principles, it can neither be taught, nor is worthy of being learned, upon these which are empirical. At all events we will here make the experiment: and in this new Institution we will see whether we cannot do that in Botany, which others find no difficulty in doing in other branches of science; whether we cannot redeem one of the most interesting departments of Natural History from the obloquy which has become attached to it in this country, and whether it is not possible to found a school of Botany in London worthy of being associated with those of Medicine, Zoology, and Natural Philosophy."[2]

He lived up to his ambition.

[3] "The first half of the nineteenth century is historically noteworthy in that it saw the raising of the botanical edifice on foundations already laid. Lindley took a prominent part in this work, work which required not only knowledge and understanding of the subject but also administrative ability, foresight and courage. In those days the teaching of botany was a much less arduous task than at the present time, a fact due to the relatively small amount of botanical knowledge which obtained and also to the absence of practical classes as we understand them nowadays. Thus Lindley had much time for his investigations, his writings, and for administrative work outside the College. As a teacher, the fact

[1] J. Lindley: *An Introductory Lecture delivered in the University of London, on Thursday, April* 30, 1829, 11–2.

[2] *Ibid.*, 14.

[3] Professor F. W. Oliver: Botany [MS. in the college library], ff. 2–5.

that William Griffith and William Crawford Williamson [1] were amongst his pupils is a sufficient indication of Lindley's quality. His lectures are described as being remarkable for their clearness, conciseness and profuseness of illustration. Lindley's audience was not, however, limited to the confines of the Botanical Theatre ; his *Vegetable Kingdom* still is used as a book of reference, whilst his *Introduction to Botany* was for many years the best of text-books. His smaller books, *School Botany* and the *Ladies' Botany*, for example, long have lost their vogue. They are, however, desirable possessions if only for their illustrations. He himself regarded his *Theory of Horticulture* as his best work. As a pure botanist, Lindley's name is chiefly associated with taxonomy ; he did much to replace the artificial system of Linnæus by the natural system of plant classification preached by Jussieu ; whilst amongst his original contributions to systematic botany, Lindley's work on the Orchidaceæ is outstanding. Lindley also was one of the pioneers in the study of fossil plants, he being associated with Hutton in the *Fossil Flora of Great Britain.* Distinguished though this work be, possibly the greatest service of Lindley to botanists, and indeed to mankind, was the work he did in securing the Royal Gardens, Kew, for scientific purposes. He was chairman of the parliamentary committee appointed to consider the problem of the gardens and the result of their labours was that Kew Gardens were saved. . . . At a later date Lindley undertook the organisation of the colonial department of the 1862 Exhibition and it is considered that the worry of this work,—for, although kind hearted he was hot tempered and impatient of opposition,—hastened his death."

He lived at Turnham Green, within a short walk of the gardens of the Horticultural Society.

"He is punctual, despite the long ride from Turnham Green," wrote a contemporary. "He is constantly in his lecture room at University College, both in Winter and Summer courses, at his appointed time. On these occasions he forms a remarkable contrast to the pupils by whom he is surrounded. He is a fresh, ruddy, hale-looking man, and after his morning's ride, in the midst of large bundles of fresh-plucked plants, presents an appearance entirely different from that of the 'pale students.'" [2]

In the department of Zoology the chair, under the title

[1] *Cf. Reminiscences of a Yorkshire Naturalist. By the late William Crawford Williamson.* Edited by his Wife, 1896, 86.

[2] *Naturalist*, iv, 1839, 442.

of Comparative Anatomy, was held for forty-six years by R. E. Grant.[1]

[2] "His title to fame as a zoologist rests on a single classical paper in which he records a series of excellent experiments on sponges. In this paper he described for the first time the ciliary currents of these animals and made out clearly their mode of feeding on minute food particles, carried in suspension in water. The recognition of 'ciliary feeding' in animals, now known to be of the utmost importance in the economy of the sea, dates from this paper. . . . His lecture course is now interesting reading. Throughout it he is clearly interested in physiology, in the functions of the organs of the animals he is describing, and in their habits of life. Furthermore, even in 1828, he devoted the lectures of his third term to palæontology, being probably the first teacher in Britain to recognise the general zoological interest of the history of animal life."

But his lectures were not a compulsory part of any course and the attendance was small. Until 1848 he was dependent upon fees and he added to his income by much popular lecturing. All his important work was done in Edinburgh before he came to London. After that he only published a series of brief notes, ceasing in 1839.[3] He has been described by one who was his pupil in his later years.

"Nearly completely bald, with blear-eyes and smooth face; white 'choker,' complete suit of black with 'swallow tail coat,' low shoes with rather pronounced ties, an umbrella in one hand and a pair of gloves swinging in the other—these were the outward elements which made up the personality of 'R.E.G.,' as he was accustomed to call himself. . . . He lived in a little house in Euston Place, and was always accustomed to invite the members of his class to breakfast. We enjoyed his hospitality and did ample justice to the good fare provided, but still more did we enjoy the conversation of our learned host, whose memory was stored with the recollections of over half a century. In his young days Grant travelled over a great part of Europe, and had taken long walking tours in many places little known to the ordinary traveller. He was a gifted linguist and had mastered many languages, both ancient and modern.

[1] *D.N.B.*

[2] Professor D. S. Watson: Notes on the History of the Zoological Department [MS. in the college library], ff. 1–2.

[3] *Ibid.*, f. 2.

His sympathies were wide and he would turn from a learned disquisition on the power of independent life manifested by animal cells, or from some tale of the days of Waterloo, to descant upon the terpsichorean merits of the actress who then most commanded the attention of the town. . . . When the writer attended his class, Grant's voice was getting weak and he often lectured over the head of one who was working for the Preliminary Scientific, and had no knowledge of human anatomy. He was, however, an impressive lecturer and a master of his subject, and although his career as an original worker seems to have stopped in the 'fifties, he continued to lecture with the greatest punctuality, and had been known, in the absence of students, to address the boy who dusted the bottles. It is said he never once missed a lecture during the forty-six years he was professor at College. The cause of the arrest of Grant's scientific development is difficult to understand. His lectures remained verbally identical for many years." [1]

" Imagine," wrote Schäfer, who had also been a pupil of his, " a lean, clean shaven, old man, dressed in a swallow tail coat (rather the worse for wear), with a high collar and stock, holding forth to an audience of some seven or eight lads, who were all the time strongly disposed to laugh at his peculiarities, but who as the course went on learned gradually to feel there was some real worth within that eccentric exterior."[2]

He was singular among biologists in his favourable reception of the theory of evolution, but his advocacy, Huxley added, was not calculated to advance the cause.[3]

viii. Other Projects

Besides the chair of Engineering there were three other projects which the founders failed to realise at the start, a chair of Mineralogy and Geology, a chair of Education, and a professorship of the Arts of Design. The postponement of any appointment to the first of these was announced in 1829.[4] As it has already been noted, lectures on geology and mineralogy were given by Turner,[5] and on fossil botany by Lindley,[6]

[1] G. V. Poore: *Robert Edward Grant*, in *University College Gazette*, ii, 1898–1901, 190–1; *cf.* J. Beddoe: *Memories of Eighty Years*, 1910, 32–3.

[2] *University College Gazette*, ii, 1898–1901, 215.

[3] L. Huxley: *Life and Letters of Thomas Henry Huxley*, 3 v., 1903, i, 242.

[4] *Ann. Rept.*, 1829, 13.

[5] *Cf. Cal.*, 1831, 68–9.

[6] *Cf.* also J. Lindley: *An Introductory Lecture delivered in the University of London, on Thursday, April* 30, 1829, 23–5.

and Grant was interested in the subject and included in his courses lectures on fossil zoology.[1] And a combined course was advertised in 1831,[2] and such a course was delivered in the session 1832–3.[3] The subject had also the support of the Warden, Leonard Horner, of Henry Warburton, one of the leaders among the promoters, and of G. B. Greenough. But Prestwich recalled that, when he was a student, Turner's lectures only amounted to three at the end of a course of forty on chemistry.[4] And in spite of the advocacy of the Senate [5] no chair was established until 1841.

A rather confused proposal to establish a professorship of Education was made in a pamphlet published early in 1833.[6] The author, a Mr. J. H. Morgan, followed it up with the offer of £100 a year for five years,[7] but nothing came of it.[8] In 1835 Brougham proposed to devote the Patriot's second donation to the foundation of such a chair, but failed to secure the concurrence of the professors.[9] A course of lectures on education was given in 1836 by the Rev. James Bryce,[10] Principal of the Belfast Academy.[11]

The proposal to found a professorship of the Arts of Design was made by the Senate to the Council in 1833.[12] Haydon was a candidate. "I have now put down my name for the Professorship of Design at the London University," he wrote. "Shall I get it? No—though I am certainly the most fit

[1] R. E. Grant: *An Essay on the Study of the Animal Kingdom. Being an Introductory Lecture delivered in the University of London, on the 23rd of October*, 1828, 2nd ed., 1829, 6–7, 12, 16–7; *Cal.*, 1831, 92–3.

[2] *Cal.*, 1832, xlv.

[3] *University of London. Distribution of the Prizes and Certificates of Honour . . .*, 1833, 3.

[4] *Life and Letters of Sir Joseph Prestwich. . . .* Written and Edited by his Wife, 1899, 24.

[5] *Ann. Rept.*, 1834, 7; *cf.* Minutes, ii, f. 410, iii, ff. 29–30, 32–5.

[6] J. H. Morgan: *Address to the Proprietors of the University of London*, 1833, 27–35.

[7] *Ann. Rept.*, 1834, 8.

[8] Minutes, ii, ff. 438–9, 441, 447.

[9] *Ibid.*, ff. 484, 498.

[10] *D.N.B.*

[11] *University of London. Faculty of Arts. Distribution of the Prizes and of the Certificates of Honour . . .*, 1836, 6.

[12] *Ann. Rept.*, 1834, 7; Minutes, ii, f. 410.

man in England."[1] In fact, he was told that he would be unsuccessful and withdrew,[2] and he relieved his feelings in a letter to *The Times*.

"The London University," he wrote, "advertised for a Professor of Design . . . I rejoiced with great joy at this delightful prospect; and knowing myself qualified for such a professorship, though hopeless of success, from the influence of the Royal Academy and the humiliation of my public misfortunes, I put my name down. The first step taken was to consult Sir Martin Shee on my fitness or unfitness for the situation. I understand the report was, I was an immoral man, did not pay my debts, and was unquestionably mad. The proof of insanity was this—I had been seen riding about Hampstead spouting Shakespeare. . . . Staggered by this report the council changed their plan, and then determined to have a professor, and drawing-master under his direction; the council wrote me saying so, and begged to know which I would contest for, the drawing-master or the professor. I put my name down again for professor. After a long time the council wrote me again, saying they did not intend to elect me, and I withdrew my name. The cause of this is evident—the influence of the Royal Academy and nothing else."

The tale about Sir Martin Shee, it need hardly be said, was a mare's nest.[3] But it is true that the plan was modified, and that ultimately the Council decided to appoint a drawing-master only.[4] The project was revived by Brougham in 1835, when he proposed to devote to it part of the anonymous donation of A Patriot, but it failed of sufficient support.[5]

[1] *Life of Benjamin Robert Haydon . . . from his Autobiography and Journals.* Edited by Tom Taylor, 3 v., 1853, ii, 386.

[2] *Ibid.*, 394.

[3] *The Times*, 2 July, 1834, 6 c; 4 July, 1834, 3 e.

[4] Minutes, ii, ff. 441–2, 450, 452.

[5] *Ibid.*, ii, ff. 498–500; iii, 24–5, 35, 46.

THE PLAYGROUND OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON SCHOOL.
From an engraving by G. Scharf.

CHAPTER V

THE START, 1828–1840: THE MEDICAL SCHOOL; ADMINISTRATION; STUDENT LIFE

i. The Medical School

The reform of medical education was regarded by some at least among the promoters of the university as the most practicable part of their project, and their expectations were fulfilled. It is hardly too much to say that in its early years the university owed its survival to the success of its medical school.

The organisation of medical education in London was not so untried an adventure as the establishment of an institution for the provision of a university discipline in the arts and sciences. With whatever deficiencies, London had long been a centre of medical activity. Medical students sought it in numbers: it contained an abundance of experienced medical teachers. The organisation of the medical school was a work not of creation but of reform. In such circumstances it is not surprising that it was the medical department which was the first to be securely established, and that to contemporaries it should have appeared, that it might well prove to be, not only the first, but the sole substantial achievement of the promoters.[1] "This institution," said the *London Medical Gazette* in 1830, "appears to have failed in what was most wanted, and succeeded in that which was not wanted at all."[2] The *Gazette* was an unfriendly critic. "The medical school of the London University," said *The Times* in 1833, "now bids fair to be placed beyond the reach of detraction or the necessity of praise."[3]

The function of the university in respect of medical educa-

[1] *Cf. The Atlas*, v, 154a (7 March, 1830).

[2] *London Medical Gazette*, vi, 377 (5 June, 1830).

[3] *The Times*, 21 May, 1833, 5 c; *cf. London Medical Gazette*, xii, 260 (25 May, 1833).

tion, as it presented itself to the minds of the founders, was to remedy the defects of the system which prevailed in London. It was their aim to replace by a systematic medical education an empirical and mainly clinical training provided by practising surgeons and physicians, who had devoted some extra attention to one or other of the sciences ancillary to medicine, and were too often careless of matters which did not help to the attainment of a qualification to practise. There seemed to them to be a need that the education of medical students should include a wider range of studies and be pursued in a more scientific spirit, and that the lecturers should be more competent, and the courses which they delivered longer, more systematic, and more efficiently correlated one with another. In order that students might derive a satisfactory benefit from such reforms they must come to their medical studies having had a better general education than they had commonly received. These ends they sought to achieve by the substitution of the co-operative labour of specialists for the haphazard services of private lecturers, the systematic division of studies among them, the provision of conditions which should secure continuity of teaching and the lifelong devotion of the teacher to the study of his subject, the limitation of the attention of each to his own proper department, and the association of the whole with a body devoted to the study of the arts and sciences.[1] In presenting the report at the close of the first session of the medical school, Charles Bell laid stress upon the fact " that one of the important objects attained at the university was the opportunity it afforded to the student of pursuing all the branches of medical education under one roof ; . . . that in every department the increasing necessity for a more complete medical education than was formerly considered necessary had been inculcated, and that the pupils had been advised to avail themselves of the various facilities afforded in the university of improving their general as well as

[1] *Cf.* Bell, *London Medical Gazette*, ii, 565–8 (4 Oct., 1828) ; D. Lardner : *A Discourse on the Advantages of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy . . . Being an Introductory Lecture delivered in the University of London, on the 29th October*, 1828, 26–8 ; Grant, *London Medical Gazette*, xiii, 11–9 (5 Oct., 1833) ; Elliotson, *Lancet, MDCCCXXXI–XXXII*, i, 65–6, 68–70.

medical education."[1] "The university," said the Senate in 1834, "has endeavoured to raise the standard of medical education by substituting long and detailed courses for a repetition of short and summary courses, and by giving fuller and more systematic instruction than was formerly imparted in the Medical Schools of London."[2]

The arrangements for the medical school were so framed as to enable students to comply with the regulations to be observed by candidates for the diplomas of the Royal College of Surgeons or the Company of Apothecaries. The time spent in preparation for examination at the College of Surgeons was commonly fifteen months. A less time sufficed for the Apothecaries' Hall. The university had therefore to arrange to cover the course in not more than a session and a half, but it announced that the time which the professors would devote to their pupils would be considerably greater, in most of the classes nearly one-half more, than had hitherto been the case in the courses delivered in the medical schools in London, and that there would also be weekly examinations. To those who could afford the time the Council recommended a four years' course at least. In the first year chemistry, natural philosophy, and botany were included with anatomy and dissections. The second year was to be devoted to materia medica and pharmacy, the nature and treatment of diseases, physiology, and anatomy. In the third year were added midwifery, comparative anatomy and zoology, surgery, clinical lectures, and hospital practice. In the fourth year the study of certain of these subjects was to be carried to a more advanced stage.[3] Complaint was made that the number of lectures which students were expected to attend was excessive,[4] and that the new school, compared with the old ones, was expensive.[5] In the

[1] *The Times*, 25 May, 1829, 3 a; *cf.* R. Quain: *Observations on Medical Education. Being the Introductory Lecture in the Faculty of Medicine of University College, London, for the Session* 1864–5, *with additions*, 1865, 18–22.

[2] *University of London. Address from the Senate to the Council in support of the Application of the University for a Charter*, 1834, 13. [3] *Second Statement*, 23–6.

[4] *London Medical Gazette*, n.s., ii, 216–20 (4 Nov., 1837).

[5] *London Medical and Surgical Journal*, v, 353 (1 Oct., 1830); *London Medical Gazette*, vi, 924 (11 Sept., 1830), xix, 22–6 (1 Oct., 1836), 58 (8 Oct., 1836); *Lancet*, *MDCCCXXIX–XXX*, i, 50.

event, practical needs got the better of theory. Speakers and writers, official and unofficial, continued to urge the merits of general education and of progressive and co-ordinated professional courses,[1] but the practice which prevailed was that which in the United States is known as the elective system. Many came for one or two sessions only, and attended such courses as seemed to them best; only a small proportion sat for the sessional examinations upon which certificates were granted. In the first session, out of 183 students attending the medical classes only 65 sat for the examinations, and only 52 received certificates. And no distinction was made between the students of one year and another.[2]

Making due allowance for the failure to establish completely and at once that system in medical studies which seemed desirable, it is still true that the organisation of the school was a great advance in medical education. If the medical student was not constrained, or even generally persuaded, he was at least enabled, to secure a more systematic training than had before been possible,[3] and in particular directions found that the curriculum had been greatly improved. A contemporary journal, which it must be noted was closely connected with the university, draws attention to the enrichment of the study of general anatomy by the direction of the students to the examination of the laws which govern the formation of organised bodies, and of the study of medicine and materia medica by the more frequent use of drawings, preparations, and medical specimens in the illustration of lectures; and it took particular note of the great series of drawings made by Carswell.[4] The *Quarterly* in 1840 was still grudging in its praise, and spoke of the metropolitan university as having failed to effect the reform of medical education which had been hoped for,[5] but Crabb Robinson records with satisfaction that Sieveking, who came to the college in 1838, after spending

[1] *London Medical Gazette*, xiii, 12–7 (5 Oct., 1833); *London University Magazine*, i, 1829, 61–8.

[2] *London University Magazine*, i, 1829, 62; *London Medical Gazette*, v, 433–5 (2 Jan., 1830), 499–501 (16 Jan., 1830).

[3] *Quarterly Journal of Education*, iv, 10 (July-Oct., 1832).

[4] *Ibid.*, 12–6.

[5] *The Quarterly Review*, lxvii, 1840–1, 75–6.

several years at Paris, Berlin, and Edinburgh, "gave as his decided opinion that the medical school of our University College was the best in Europe."[1] It was a school, said *The Lancet* in 1868, which in its day had no compeer.[2] As the work of the founders recedes into the distance the view of their service to medical education widens.

"As to the new system," wrote Richard Quain in 1865, "with short apprenticeship or pupilage—in many cases well spent, in acquiring rudimentary knowledge—with the much longer time of study at a school and hospital, the better organized plan of education, the counsel of experienced physicians and surgeons communicated to many at one time, in the lecture-room or in the ward, instead of being spoken to an individual apprentice or two; with the greater knowledge of hospital business; with last, but not least important, the longer residence in an atmosphere of practical knowledge and work [*sic*]. There can be no doubt that though by the one system a few became capable and even distinguished, by the other system, while the few are not less capable than before, the many have been raised to a very much higher position. And this is exactly what the public wanted—exactly what was desired by the founders of this College, as I read in the documents of that day."[3]

The organisation of the several studies in a single school was not achieved without difficulty. Great harm was done by the appointment of professors before the plan upon which the school was to be organised had been fully worked out,[4] and the early history of the medical chairs is very confused. The delimitation of their several provinces was experimentally determined, and the conflicts which ensued nearly exploded the university. The anatomists proved to be the most difficult to reconcile.

The first announcements gave to Meckel the chair of Morbid and Comparative Anatomy, and to Pattison that of Anatomy.[5] But the Council seems to have been anxious

[1] *Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson.* Edited by Thomas Sadler, 3 v., 1869, ii, 196–7.

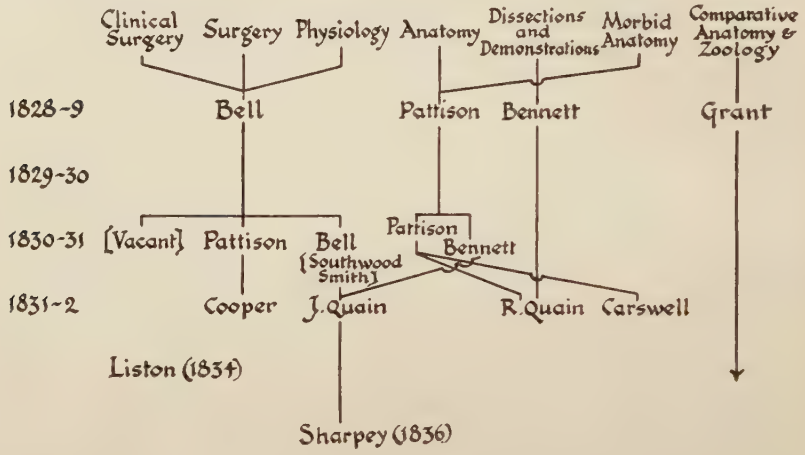
[2] *Lancet, MDCCCLXVIII*, ii, 204.

[3] R. Quain: *Observations on Medical Education. Being the Introductory Lecture in the Faculty of Medicine of University College, London, for the Session* 1864–5, *with additions*, 1865, 24.

[4] *Cf. London Medical Gazette*, vii, 306–9 (4 Dec., 1830).

[5] *The Times*, 14 July, 1827, 2 e; 19 July, 1827, 3 a.

that the professors should determine between themselves their particular fields, and to have been embarrassed by the delays of Meckel, and recorded in its minutes the appointment of Meckel, Pattison, and Bell, jointly to the chairs of Anatomy, Surgery, and Physiology,[1] which became in the *Statement* Anatomy and Physiology, Morbid and Comparative Anatomy, and Surgery.[2] On the withdrawal of Meckel, Bell, who had agreed to take Surgery, was appointed professor of Physiology and Clinical Surgery,[3] Comparative Anatomy was allotted to the professor of Zoology,[4] and Morbid Anatomy was added



to the duties of Pattison,[5] and the chair of Surgery was left vacant,[6] Bell agreeing to make such additions to his course on Clinical Surgery as to supply the deficiency for the time being,[7] although this at a later date was construed as an appointment to the chair.[8] In addition, J. R. Bennett, who had taught in Paris, was appointed to take charge of Dissections and Demonstrations.

This division of labours led to conflict, and a completely

[1] Minutes, i, f. 99.
[2] *Statement*, 20.
[3] *Ann. Rept.*, 1828, 6; *Letters of Sir Charles Bell*, 1870, 299; *Second Statement*, 13, 15.
[4] *Second Statement*, 13.
[5] Minutes, i, ff. 145, 152.
[6] *Ann. Rept.*, 1828, 6; *Second Statement*, 14.
[7] *Second Statement*, 15 n.
[8] Minutes, ii, f. 8.

satisfactory arrangement of the school was not achieved until 1836. There was friction between Bell and Pattison, and between Pattison and Bennett. In May, 1830, Bell threatened resignation unless the medical school were remodelled.[1] In September he went so far as to give up the chairs of Surgery and Clinical Surgery, being succeeded in the former by Pattison, but retained the chair of Physiology.[2] During the course of the autumn the Warden called the attention of the Council to a notice posted by Bell at the Middlesex Hospital making it clear that he no longer supported the university medical school, and the Council in consequence seized upon an intimation that he would relinquish the chair of Physiology as from the end of the session without waiting for his formal resignation. Bell's reply was in November, 1830, to refuse to complete his course.[3] In December the Council appointed Southwood Smith[4] temporarily to fill the vacancy.[5] At the same time Pattison had been at loggerheads with Bennett, and the latter in September, 1830, was raised to the position of Adjunct Professor of Anatomy, retaining charge of Dissections and Demonstrations, and a memorandum was drawn up delimiting the several fields of the two professors. Bennett's introductory lecture[6] was the first formal acknowledgment in English schools of 'General Anatomy,' introduced to Englishmen by the *Anatomie Générale* of Bichat and by the writings of Meckel,[7] and his province was that part of the work which subsequently went to Sharpey.[8] In the course of the session 1830–1, Bennett died and Pattison was dismissed. In August, 1831, Jones Quain[9] was appointed professor of Anatomy, taking the work done by Bennett and by Southwood Smith, and Richard Quain[10] as Demonstrator on the express condition of independence of the professor.[11] The organisation of the teaching in these subjects was completed when Richard Quain became professor of Practical Anatomy

[1] Minutes, ii, f. 85; *cf.* ff. 129–30. [2] *Ibid.*, ii, f. 138.
[3] *Ibid.*, ii, ff. 150–1, 157. [4] *D.N.B.* [5] Minutes, ii, ff. 163–5.
[6] *Lecture Introductory to the Course of General Anatomy; delivered on Wednesday, October 6, 1830. By James R. Bennett, one of the Professors of Anatomy.*
[7] *Quarterly Journal of Education*, iv, 13 (July–Oct., 1832).
[8] Minutes, ii, ff. 125–8. [9] *D.N.B.; Bulletin*, iv, 1926–7, 184.
[10] *D.N.B.; Bulletin, loc. cit.* [11] Minutes, ii, ff. 316, 317.

in 1832, and in 1836 Jones Quain was succeeded by Sharpey, with the title of professor of Anatomy and Physiology.[1]

The opening of the medical school coincided with the Burke and Hare murders. The coincidence afforded the occasion for a scurrilous attack in *John Bull*. But the episode is only memorable for the response which it drew from De Morgan.

"Should a body want a body
Anatomy to teach,
Should a body snatch a body,
Need a body peach?"[2]

There was, as it has been seen, at first no proper course in systematic surgery, and although there were lectures on clinical surgery and clinical medicine, students had either to seek clinical experience at the Middlesex Hospital, an institution altogether independent and situated at some distance away,[3] or be content with such as they could gain in the Dispensary, or obtain their certificates of attendance at hospitals altogether unconnected with the university.[4]

The connection with the Middlesex Hospital did not extend beyond the grant by that institution of facilities for admission and some reduction of fees, and students continued to work there under Bell after he had ended his association with the university,[5] and he subsequently established there a regular medical school.

The Dispensary was established in George Street, Euston Square, and was opened in Sept., 1828. It was to be attended by the professors of the Nature and Treatment of Diseases and of Materia Medica, as physicians, by the professor of Midwifery for that department, and by the professor of Anatomy and Operative Surgery as surgeon. Their services were gratuitous. There was a resident apothecary.[6] "It must have contained beds, as 69 patients died there between 1828

[1] *Quarterly Journal of Education*, iv, 11 (July–Oct., 1832); R. Quain: *Observations on Medical Education. Being the Introductory Lecture in the Faculty of Medicine of University College, London, for the Session* 1864–5, *with additions*, 1865, 21–2.

[2] A. M. W. Stirling: *William De Morgan and his Wife*, 1922, 33.

[3] *Cf. supra*, p. 55. [4] *Lancet, MDCCCXXIX–XXX*, i, 47.

[5] *Letters of Sir Charles Bell*, 1870, 317–8.

[6] App. I, B, i, No. 49, 15; *Rept.*, 30 *Sept.*, 1828, 3.

and 1832; moreover J. Hogg, the apothecary, conducted *post-mortem* examinations in the presence of pupils. Regular lectures were delivered. Fees were charged for the instruction given. The average number of the students was 34."[1] It made a prosperous start.[2] After 1830, the number of patients treated began to decline,[3] and complaints were made of the irregularity of the attendance of the medical officers.[4] Elliotson regarded its establishment as an error.[5]

In spite of shortcomings, the merits of the new school were, however, sufficient to secure a very rapid rise in reputation. The number of students increased from 183 in 1828–9 to 252 in 1831–2, and 390 in 1834–5, and success encouraged improvement. The medical faculty was zealous to provide more efficient opportunities for clinical instruction, and to secure to the university power to confer an independent medical degree. "London," as Richard Quain wrote a generation later, "was still a school of surgery. At least, it was not complete as a school of medicine. A student educated here could not yet obtain a degree in medicine."[6] And not only was there a failure of correspondence between that professional training which was provided and those professional diplomas which could be obtained in London, but the establishment of a new and different degree was essential to the effective development of a more comprehensive system of medical education. The medical professors, therefore, were urgent that the university should either assume to itself, or seek from authority, the power to grant medical degrees. But their policy involved the university in very serious embarrassments, and its ramifications belong more properly to the history of incorporation.

The provision of better opportunities for clinical instruction

[1] R. J. Godlee: Surgery [Typescript in the college library], f. 2; *Cal.*, 1831, 185–7.

[2] *London University Magazine*, i, 1829, 66; *Ann. Rept.*, 1829, 12, 1830, 13.

[3] *Ann. Rept.*, 1831, 9; 1832, 5–6. [4] Minutes, ii, f. 114.

[5] J. Elliotson: *Address, delivered at the Opening of the Medical Session in the University of London, October 1st*, 1832, 8–9.

[6] R. Quain: *Observations on Medical Education. Being the Introductory Lecture in the Faculty of Medicine of University College, London, for the Session* 1864–5, *with additions*, 1865, 20.

lay more strictly within the province of the university itself. It will have been noticed that the founders had long had in mind the erection of a hospital.[1] The project was the subject of repeated discussion.[2] It was postponed for lack of funds.[3] In 1832 the proprietors decided to raise money to build a hospital by mortgage of the land west of Gower Street.[4] In the following year the Council laid before them a detailed plan.[5] It calculated that it should be possible to raise by subscription and by mortgage sufficient funds to build a hospital, that the hospital when built would produce sufficient for its own support and the payment of interest on any debt incurred, and that its erection would result in an increase in entries in the medical school. Upon that basis it proposed to execute the plan, vesting the government of the hospital in the Council of the university, but leaving the regulation of medical treatment and medical education in the hands of the Faculty of Medicine, the fees received to be paid into the university funds and be made liable to a first charge for the support of the hospital. If the hospital were fully maintained by subscriptions, two-thirds of these fees were to be paid to the medical officers, otherwise their services were to be gratuitous. The proposal was adopted by the proprietors.[6] The foundation-stone was laid on the 20th of May, 1833.[7] Work was delayed by a strike in 1834,[8] but the building was opened on the 1st of November in that year.[9] The architect was Alfred Ainger, the father of Canon Ainger.[10] The whole proceeding was vigorously attacked by the *London Medical Gazette* as a job designed to restore the embarrassed finances

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 55.

[2] *Ann. Rept.*, 1828, 10–3; *Rept.*, 30 *Sept.*, 1828, 2; *Ann. Rept.*, 1829, 11–2; *Lancet*, *MDCCCXXIX–XXX*, i, 220, 314–5; *MDCCCXXXI–XXXII*, i, 66–8.

[3] *Ann. Rept.*, 1830, 12; 1831, 9.

[4] *Ibid.*, 1832, 6, 7, 16.

[5] *Ibid.*, 1833, 15–8; *Ann. Gen. Meeting*, 1833, 4.

[6] *Ann. Gen. Meeting*, 1833, 4.

[7] *The Times*, 21 May, 1833, 5 e; *The Morning Chronicle*, 23 May, 1833, 3 d; N. H. Nixon: *A History of the Hospital from its Foundation to the Year* 1881, 1882.

[8] *Gentleman's Magazine*, n.s., ii, 1834, 522.

[9] *Ann. Rept.*, 1835, 6; *cf. Lancet*, *MDCCCXXXIV–XXXV*, i, 520–2.

[10] E. Sichel: *The Life and Letters of Alfred Ainger*, 1906, 2.

of the university.[1] In 1838 the Council decided to add a south wing, and the new building was ready for the reception of patients in the autumn of 1840.[2]

The outstanding figures in the history of the first years of the medical school are those of Charles Bell, Anthony Todd Thomson, and John Conolly. To their place of eminence succeed in the later 'thirties John Elliotson, Samuel Cooper, Robert Liston, and William Sharpey.

Charles Bell [3] was one of that memorable group which collected in Edinburgh between 1797 and 1803, which sat at the feet of Playfair and Dugald Stewart, and foregathered in the Speculative Society, and from which issued in 1802 *The Edinburgh Review*. It numbered among its members, besides Charles Bell and his brother G. F. Bell, Francis Jeffrey, Sydney Smith, Birkbeck, Lord Henry Petty, later 3rd Marquis of Lansdowne, Francis Horner, John Allen, Lord Webb Seymour, J. W. Ward, later 1st Earl of Dudley, James Loch, McCulloch, Charles Grant, afterwards Lord Glenelg, and his brother Robert Grant, Anthony Todd Thomson, Brougham, Campbell, and Henry Cockburn. Sydney Smith and John Allen were slightly older than the rest. Jeffrey, in October, 1797, was just twenty-four; J. W. Ward and McCulloch were nineteen. In age, the rest lay between them. The company was scattered by 1803. It gave to the university three of its first professors and five members of its first Council, besides James Loch, who was elected in 1828. James Mill was trained in the same school a few years earlier, Sir James Mackintosh twelve years before, Lord John Russell and J. G. Smith twelve years later, and Grant and Turner later still.

Bell came to London in the autumn of 1804. After eight years of solitary effort, during which he received little substantial help from anything but his own indefatigable energy,

[1] *London Medical and Surgical Journal*, iii, 565 (1 June, 1833); *London Medical Gazette*, xi, 742–3 (2 March, 1833), 803–7 (16 March, 1833), xii, 329–30 (8 June, 1833).

[2] *Ann. Rept.*, 1838, 11; 1839, 9; N. H. Nixon: *A History of the Hospital from its Foundation to the Year* 1881, 1882.

[3] *D.N.B.*; *Bulletin*, iv, 1926–7, 183.

he began to make his mark about 1812, and in 1814 was elected surgeon to the Middlesex Hospital. His great work of discovery in the operation of the nervous system was begun in 1807. At the time of his appointment to the chair in the university he was just bringing it to a conclusion. He came as a man of established reputation and authority, and the character of his professional position and of his temperament made him intolerant of the mistakes in the conduct of the institution which marred the first years of its history, and his association with the university was brief. He resigned in 1830. He had little time in which to do much work which could be distinctly associated with the university, either in physiology or surgery, but his influence upon the organisation of the school was far-reaching, and he was chosen to deliver the inaugural lecture in 1828 and the opening lecture of the medical school again in 1829. The failure, as he conceived it, of the new medical school was a great disappointment. He made another essay in reform by founding a medical school at the Middlesex Hospital in 1835, but was persuaded before the end of the year to accept the chair of Surgery in the University of Edinburgh. He died suddenly, at the age of sixty-seven, in 1842.

Bell found life a difficult game, and played it with great spirit. Quick, tireless, versatile, his life was one of breathless activity. Never idle, he threw himself with zest into whatever work was on hand, and drew vigour from the multiplicity and variety of his occupations. The structure of his mind was such as to be incapable of interest, or of retention, except the matter be related to some intellectual principle, and equally impatient of those who, given the principle, failed to perceive at a glance the necessary implications. As a lecturer, his aim was argument, and the secret of his method, ordonnance. "I find in my lecture," he wrote, "that the only thing worthy of preparation is arrangement—and instead of a catchword, a leading idea. I could put the notes for a lecture on my nail. . . . I never attempt to remember words."[1] "He varied his lectures year by year," wrote Lady Bell, "and studied for each as if it were to be the only one. His notes were on strips

[1] *Letters of Sir Charles Bell*, 1870, 122–3.

of paper, with pen scratchings of figures rudely drawn to remind him of the 'heads.'"[1] "Sometimes," he said in 1812, "I am astonished with myself, sometimes mortified with my manner of lecturing."[2] Some people found his mannerisms tiresome.[3] On more formal occasions, such as that of the first of his lectures before the College of Surgeons, his method made demands upon him which were almost too great.

> "I began," he wrote, "with some compliments to the College, putting them as it were aside to be my judges, not my audience, and addressed myself to the younger men, . . . assuming, as much as I could, my natural and forcible manner in speaking to my own class. That I did this badly I learn from this circumstance, that my tongue clove to the roof of my mouth. No man can speak naturally—without which there can be no eloquence—if his mouth is dry with anxiety or apprehension; he may say what was in his mind to deliver, but he cannot bend and adapt himself to his subject and to the condition of his audience."[4]

But the audience seems not to have noticed the shortcoming, and Bell himself, on the balance, was satisfied. Occasional failure, he said later about the same course, helps to keep hearers awake.[5]

In spite of the zest with which Bell threw himself into the multifarious activities of his life in London, and of the delight which he took in teaching and in scientific work, he never overcame a passionate longing for the country. He found his recreation in sketching, to which in later years he added fishing. "I weary to see you," he wrote to his brother in 1810, "and weary for the country. Eternal din! Oh, for that silence in which I could distinctly hear myself speak."[6] "London," he wrote to his old friend Richardson in 1842, "is well for the young and expectant, or the dull old citizen who has passed the vigour of life on a stool . . . it won't do for us. We must waken with the rustling leaves at the window, and the fresh breeze off the woods and garden, and we must get learned in the weather, and watch the clouds and the water, while we have eyes to tie a knot and choose a fly."[7]

[1] *Letters of Sir Charles Bell*, 1870, 410. [2] *Ibid.*, 199.
[3] *Lancet, MDCCCXXX–XXXI*, ii, 693 (27 Aug., 1831).
[4] *Letters of Sir Charles Bell*, 1870, 288.
[5] *Ibid.*, 289. [6] *Ibid.*, 176. [7] *Ibid.*, 396–7.

Anthony Todd Thomson,[1] professor of Materia Medica from 1828 to 1849, and, from 1830 of Medical Jurisprudence as well, was a contemporary of Bell, and had been, unlike Bell, a member of the Speculative Society. He was of colonial origin. His father settled at Savannah in 1767, and became Collector of Customs and Deputy Postmaster. In 1775 he left Georgia with the permission of the Governor, but returned in March, 1780. During the interval he was in Edinburgh, and it was there that Anthony Todd Thomson was born. As a loyalist he left the state for good at the evacuation, settling again in Edinburgh. His son came to London in 1800 and there acquired a large practice. A man of exceptionally wide professional knowledge, he was also well-known in the literary world, and a frequent contributor to the *Literary Gazette* under the editorship of William Jerdan.[2] In 1847 he issued an edition of *The Seasons*. His text-books on materia medica and therapeutics, and his *London Dispensatory* went into many editions. He was editor, with Burrows and Royston, of *The London Medical Repository*, was one of the earliest supporters of the Medico-Chirurgical Society, and assisted in founding the Pathological Society of London. On the resignation of Smith in 1830, he was appointed jointly with Amos to conduct the classes in medical jurisprudence, and became sole professor in 1832.[3] A course of lectures which he delivered upon medical jurisprudence is reported in the *Lancet*.[4] He died in 1849.

John Conolly,[5] professor of the Nature and Treatment of Diseases, was only thirty-three on his appointment. He came of an Irish family, but his mother was a Tennyson, cousin-german to the grandfather of the poet, and he was born and brought up in Lincolnshire. His father died when he was only six, and he had an unhappy childhood and a poor education. He joined a militia regiment in 1812, and served for four years in Scotland and Ireland. His mother married for her second

[1] *D.N.B.*; *Bulletin*, iv, 1926–7, 185.

[2] *The Autobiography of William Jerdan* . . . , 4 v., 1853, iii, 283.

[3] *Ann. Rept.*, 1831, 8; *Cal.*, 1831, 176; *Distribution of the Prizes*, 1833, 12.

[4] *Lancet, MDCCCXXXVI–XXXVII*, i, *passim*.

[5] *D.N.B.*; *Bulletin*, iv, 1926–7, 183.

husband an *émigré*, and from his stepfather he acquired a love of French literature. He married in 1816, and went to live in a cottage near Tours, which afterwards became famous as the home of Béranger. His small means soon exhausted, he went to Edinburgh to study medicine, and graduated in 1821. After a brief sojourn in Lewes and Chichester, he settled down to practice in Stratford-on-Avon, where he enjoyed the friendship of Parr, took an active part in local affairs and was twice mayor, and did a good deal of miscellaneous literary work, which included assistance in the editorship of *The London Medical Repository*. His tenure of the chair at the university was brief; he resigned in 1831, and returned to private practice in Warwick. In 1839 he became resident physician of the Hanwell Asylum and entered upon those labours to ameliorate the condition of the insane which occupied the rest of his life and procured him a lasting fame. He remained resident physician until 1843 only, but during that brief period effected a revolution in the treatment of the insane which had a world-wide influence. His position became one of great authority, and he was an active and effective propagandist. He was one of the founders of the Provincial Medical and Surgical Association, and one of the original members of the Ethnological Society, and of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science. He died in 1866.

"The name of Conolly," it has been said, "takes rank with the names of the foremost men in the medical profession. It comes up, however, nearly always, as the name of one who successfully advocated the humane treatment of the insane; and it is in this aspect that Conolly's life is best known. He is remembered rather as an able and practical reformer of treatment, than as an analyst of the manifestations of mind. Yet in the best sense of the term he was a psychologist, and his reputation as a thinker may well rest on his work on the *Indications of Insanity*." [1]

His work at the university has been rather variously estimated. He was fluent and lucid both as a speaker and a writer. By contemporaries his inaugural lecture was regarded with favour,[2] and his contributions to the publications of the

[1] A. Mitchell, *laud.*, J. Clark: *A Memoir of John Conolly*, 1869, 213–4.

[2] *The Morning Chronicle*, 3 Oct., 1828, 3 a; *The Times*, 4 Oct., 1828, 2 d; *cf. supra*, p. 77.

Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge were successful.[1] He was a man of culture, well-read in French literature, and throughout life an ardent student of Shakespeare, publishing in his later years a *Study of Hamlet*. But judged by more severe standards it is agreed that he never fully overcame the defects of his education, and there is a tradition that his lectures were vague and discursive. "The lectures delivered by him, being diffuse and theoretical rather than concise and practical," wrote his son-in-law, "were not great successes, if they were not in truth failures."[2] His attention had been attracted to the study of insanity at a very early stage of his career, and he called particular attention to the subject in the course of his inaugural lecture,[3] and sought from the Council permission for clinical work in a lunatic asylum, but his request was refused.[4]

He was clearly a man of great charm, and the success of his work among the insane must denote some strength of character, but his son-in-law drew a rather unfavourable picture of him. He had little capacity, he thought, for facing difficulties, whether practical or intellectual, and little capacity for sustained and methodical work. He was impulsive and volatile, "prone to shrink from the disagreeable occasions of life, if it were possible, rather than encounter them with deliberate foresight and settled resolution," inexact, and too ready to be satisfied with amiable sentiments. But passionate, impetuous, liberal, with great grace and ease of address, great literary talent, lively conversational powers, and unaffected simplicity, he was an ideal champion of an unpopular cause. And it is not unfair to regard him, even in the great work of his life, as the populariser rather than the originator, and the true son of Brougham. His portrait was painted by Sir Gordon Watson, and there is a bust by Benzoni at the Royal College of Physicians.

The professor of Clinical Medicine, Thomas Watson,[5] was

[1] J. Clark: *A Memoir of John Conolly*, 1869, 197–9.

[2] *Journal of Mental Science*, xii, 1867, 163, 172.

[3] J. Conolly: *An Introductory Lecture delivered in the University of London, on Thursday, October 2*, 1828, 4th ed., 1829, 18–9.

[4] Minutes, i, ff. 150, 151.

[5] *D.N.B.*

but slightly connected with the university. He was a physician at the Middlesex Hospital, students attended his lectures there, and his appointment was a part of that temporary arrangement made pending the erection of a hospital attached to the university. He resigned in 1831,[1] and became lecturer on forensic medicine at King's College. D. D. Davis,[2] professor of Obstetric Medicine, coming to London in 1813, had acquired a large practice, and had attended the Duchess of Kent at the birth of Queen Victoria. He had lectured at his own house and attracted a large class. He has been accorded a high place among writers on midwifery of the second rank. He was a friend of Thomas Wakley, the editor of *The Lancet*, and was the victim of some scurrilous attacks in the *London Medical Gazette*[3] on that account. He retained his chair until his death in 1841. Granville Sharp Pattison,[4] first professor of Anatomy, is memorable rather for the storms which he aroused than for his contributions to medical science. His connection with the attempt to secure the services of Meckel has already been detailed. The story of his own troubled term of office must be reserved for a later chapter. Educated in Glasgow, and for a short time an assistant at the Andersonian Institute, he had migrated to America, and there become professor of Anatomy, Physiology, and Surgery, in the University of Maryland at Baltimore. This post he resigned in 1825. On his expulsion from London University in 1831, he returned to the States to become professor of Anatomy, first in the Jeafferson Medical College, Philadelphia, and then in the University of New York. He died, while still in the occupation of that chair, in 1851. The first professor of Medical Jurisprudence, John Gordon Smith,[5] was hardly a man of the same calibre as most of his colleagues. An army surgeon, he had served at Waterloo, and retiring on half-pay in 1815, settled in London. Equipped with a Scottish degree only, he had no recognised place in the London medical world, and he turned

[1] *London Medical Gazette*, viii, 218 (14 May, 1831); Corres., No. 2413.

[2] *D.N.B.*

[3] *London Medical Gazette*, vii, 372–3 (18 Dec., 1830), viii, 218 (14 May, 1831), ix, 21–3 (8 Oct., 1831).

[4] *D.N.B.*

[5] *D.N.B.*; *Bulletin*, iv, 1926–7, 185.

to the study of forensic medicine which had no recognised place in medical education. He was an ardent reformer, and doubtless did valuable work. He had lectured at the Royal Institution in 1825 and 1826, and at the Mechanics' Institute, and by his own efforts constrained the Council of the university to establish a chair of Medical Jurisprudence, and to appoint him to it. But he was inclined to make bluster serve for argument, and the rather rambling account of his own battles do duty for the methodical exposition of his subject. His inaugural lecture was not very favourably received. "Condensation, we are afraid," said *The Morning Chronicle*, "is not a virtue of Dr. Smith's,"[1] and he rather unkindly called attention, in recommendation of his subject, to a gentleman in the audience who had been implicated in a case of murder of a peculiarly unpleasant character, and was now, thanks to medical jurisprudence, "a living and grateful man instead of lying a dismembered corpse on the table of the anatomist."[2] His classes were unsuccessful, since there was no compulsion upon medical students to pay attention to the subject with which he dealt, and he resigned in 1830.[3] Disappointed in his hopes, and unsuccessful in his application for other posts, he took to drink, and died in a debtor's prison in 1833 at the age of forty-one.

Robert Carswell,[4] appointed professor of Morbid Anatomy in 1828, remained in Paris until May, 1831, to complete the great series of drawings upon which he was at work, and which now constitute one of the most treasured possessions of the Medical School. He resigned in 1840 to become physician to the king of the Belgians, and spent the rest of his life near Brussels. The establishment of the chair which he held was itself an important step in the history of medical education, and he fulfilled the office with great distinction.

J. R. Bennett, demonstrator and later joint professor of Anatomy, had graduated at Dublin, and had migrated in

[1] *The Morning Chronicle*, 23 Oct., 1828, 3b.

[2] J. G. Smith: *The Claims of Forensic Medicine: being the Introductory Lecture delivered in the University of London, on Monday, May* 11, 1829, 18.

[3] *Ann. Rept.*, 1831, 8; Minutes, ii, ff. 154, 156, 158, 163, 174.

[4] *D.N.B.*

1822 to Paris to continue his studies. There he had conducted classes for English students, but the Royal College of Surgeons had intervened with the Secretary of State to prevent him from securing for these classes a permanent establishment, and Bennett had been constrained to remove to London. "His reputation as an anatomist," wrote the *Quarterly Journal of Education*, "was even greater in Paris than it had time to become in London before his untimely death. But an attempt to *teach* anatomy in Paris exposed him to many disagreeable circumstances, and he removed to London, where his success was not for some time at all equal to his merits or to his industry and ardent love of science. He lived to be greatly and justly admired for the possession of the rare and happy art of conveying knowledge with clearness to the minds of the least informed of his hearers. He had but delivered one course of General Anatomy, of which report spoke in the highest terms, when interruptions of his health became more frequent."[1] He died in April, 1831.

Richard Quain,[2] who succeeded Bennett as senior demonstrator, was the brother of Jones Quain, and the half-brother of John Richard Quain. His father and Bennett had known one another in Ireland, and young Quain had studied under Bennett in Paris and had become his assistant at the university. In 1832 he was appointed professor of Descriptive Anatomy, in 1834 first assistant surgeon to the hospital, and professor of Clinical Surgery in 1848, resigning in 1866. He died in 1887, leaving his fortune to the college. He was a violent partisan and a difficult colleague. "His published work was chiefly anatomical. Many stories are told of him. It is said that he used to go round his wards with his hands deep in his pockets and his hat on his head; and that he had a peculiar dread of hæmorrhage. He cannot be said to have been a great surgeon, but he was much respected in the medical world."[3]

[1] [Memorial] *To the President and Members of the Court of Examiners of the Royal College of Surgeons, London . . . James R. Bennett* [n.d.]; *Quarterly Journal of Education*, iv, 13 (July–Oct., 1832); *Lancet, MDCCCXXX–XXXI*, ii, 747, 753.

[2] *D.N.B.; Bulletin*, iv, 1926–7, 184.

[3] R. J. Godlee: Surgery [Typescript in the college library], f. 4.

The losses which the medical school suffered in 1830–31 were repaired, in the course of the decade, by the election of John Elliotson, Samuel Cooper, Robert Liston, and William Sharpey.

John Elliotson[1] succeeded to John Conolly in 1831, the title of the chair being altered to that of the Theory (afterwards the Principles) and Practice of Medicine,[2] to include as well the work done by Watson. Trained in Edinburgh, Cambridge, and London, he was forty at the time of his appointment. He proved himself to be an exceedingly popular teacher and a man of great energy and originality, and established himself as one of the ablest thinkers among the physicians of the metropolis. [3] "He was notable as a teacher for his scientific method and for his keenness in attempting to advance medicine by adopting new methods, as for example the use of the stethoscope, and for his care in examination and his skill as a clinician. He carried out in London the methods instituted by Laennec in France, and certainly was largely instrumental in developing the study of physical signs in this country; and he may be regarded as the originator of the careful and systematic examination of the sick that, ever since his day, has been a tradition of the teaching of medicine at University College." His career at the college was brought to an untimely end in 1839 by an episode which made a great stir among contemporaries. The story is told in the *Lancet*.[4] In 1837, a Frenchman, styling himself the Baron Dupotet, came to London as an advocate and practitioner of mesmerism, and applied to Dr. Elliotson for permission to try its effects upon some of the women patients in the hospital. This was readily granted. Elliotson was much excited, and thought the action of mesmerism might be brought into use as a remedy for certain diseases of the nervous system, such as epilepsy

[1] *D.N.B.; Bulletin*, iv, 1926–7, 183; T. R. E.: *John Elliotson, M.D. Camb., F.R.S.*, in *University College Hospital Magazine*, i, 1911, 272–84; J. T. Bramwell: *Hypnotism: Its History, Practice, and Theory*, 3rd ed., 1921, 4–14.

[2] *Ann. Rept.*, 1832, 5.

[3] Sir John Rose Bradford: The Medical School [Typescript in the college library], f. 11.

[4] *Lancet, MDCCCLXVIII*, ii, 203–4; *cf. Monthly Chronicle*, ii, 1838, 11–30.

and hysteria, and he set to work to use it in earnest. Unfortunately there presented themselves two sisters named Elizabeth and Jane Okey, saying that they were suffering from epilepsy and desired to try the new remedy. Elizabeth Okey, who was a consummate actress and had been one of Irving's "unknown tongues," not satisfied with being sent into a mesmeric sleep, became, consecutively, fixed in a trance, and then prescribed for her own ailments and those of others, and finally passed from this to clairvoyance, in which she began to foretell the issue of disease and the advent of death. While these things were going on in the wards, frequent *séances* were being held in the theatre, attended by crowded and fashionable audiences, which included, among peers, bishops, and philosophers, Thomas Moore and Charles Dickens. So notorious did the sensation become that the Council was constrained to interfere and require that the practice of mesmerism be discontinued in the hospital, and Thos. Wakley, the then editor of the *Lancet* and the enemy of all quackery, invited Elliotson to bring Okey to his house in Bedford Square, where she was tested by an influential committee and effectually discredited.[1] In consequence Elliotson tendered the resignation of his chair and of his post as physician to the hospital, and they were accepted by the Council.[2]

The episode caused much embarrassment to the college. Dr. Copland was appointed to carry on Elliotson's work for the remainder of the session,[3] but the students, remaining loyal to Elliotson, at first refused to listen to him.[4] Elliotson in his private character survived the storm. He continued to practise mesmerism, founded an infirmary in which it should be employed, and edited *The Zoist*, in which he was its advocate, and although he suffered much professional loss, he retained a large private practice among those who did not share his faith and continued to occupy an important and respected position in his profession. The affair of 1839 brought him

[1] *Lancet, MDCCCXXXVII–XXXVIII*, ii, 805–13.

[2] *Ann. Rept.*, 1839, 9–10; *London Medical Gazette*, n.s., i, 536 (5 Jan., 1839).

[3] *Ann. Rept.*, 1839, 10.

[4] *London Medical Gazette*, n.s., i, 576 (12 Jan., 1839), 617–8 (19 Jan., 1839); *The Times*, 15 Jan., 1839, 5 e.

the friendship of Dickens.[1] He was intimate with Thackeray, and was the *Dr. Goodenough* of *Philip* and *Pendennis*. He died in 1868.

Samuel Cooper,[2] appointed in 1831, was, as has been seen, the first full-time professor of Systematic Surgery. He was at the date of his appointment a man of fifty-one, and of a securely established reputation, due in large measure to his famous *Dictionary of Practical Surgery*, of which the first edition had appeared in 1809. He had served for a short period as an army surgeon, went with the Walcheren expedition, and had been present at Waterloo, but his life had in the main been devoted to his medical writings and to surgical practice in London. He retained his chair until 1847. As a lecturer he is said to have been clear, but diffident and nervous. He was well-read in the literature both of France and Germany, and a lifelong student of the classics. He was the first University College man to occupy the presidential chair of the Royal College of Surgeons. His resignation was the result of disputes within the college. The annoyance which they caused him seriously affected his health. He died in 1848.

Strongly contrasted with Cooper was Robert Liston,[3] his contemporary in the chair of Clinical Surgery. After a distinguished but stormy career in Edinburgh, he was appointed in 1834 one of the surgeons to the hospital and professor of Clinical Surgery in the university.[4] He was famous for his rudeness, his sterling qualities, and his great surgical skill.

"Liston's claim to remembrance is based upon the marvellous dexterity with which he used the surgeon's knife, and upon the profound knowledge of anatomy which enabled him to operate successfully in cases from which other surgeons shrank. Living at a time immedi-

[1] J. W. T. Ley: *The Dickens Circle*, 1918, 115; J. Forster: *The Life of Charles Dickens*, 3 v., 1872, ii, 86.

[2] *D.N.B.*; *Bulletin*, iv, 1926–7, 183.

[3] *D.N.B.*; R. Paterson: *Memorials of the Life of James Syme*, Edinburgh, 1874, 66–8, 72–3, 210–6; P. Flemming: *Robert Liston, the first Professor of Clinical Surgery at U. C. H.* in *University College Hospital Magazine and Dental Department Notes*, xi, 1926, 176–85; F. W. Cock: *Anecdota Listoniensia* in *University College Hospital Magazine*, ii, 1911–2, 55–60, 82–92.

[4] *Ann. Rept.*, 1835, 4.

ately antecedent to the introduction of anæsthetics, he appears to have attained to a dexterity in the use of cutting instruments which had probably never been equalled, and which is unlikely to be surpassed. When chloroform was unknown it was of the utmost importance that surgical operations should be performed as rapidly as possible. Of Liston it is told that when he amputated the gleam of his knife was followed so instantaneously by the sound of sawing as to make the two actions appear almost simultaneous, and yet he perfected the method of amputating by flaps. At the same time his physical strength was so great that he could amputate through a thigh with only the single assistant who held the limb. . . . Liston was not a scientific surgeon, neither was he a good speaker, nor was he very clear as a writer." [1]

"I have in my mind's eye at this moment," said Sir Henry Thompson in 1901, "a complete view of the tall athletic form of Robert Liston, in his blue frock coat, surrounded by his dressers, nurses, etc., in the area as it then was. . . . I knew Liston personally, had an introduction to him on arriving at the school in 1847, saw him at his house in 5, Clifford Street, Bond Street, and never pass it to this day without recalling the fact. You may know that he was the first man in this country to perform an operation under chloroform. It was in the early part of the autumn session of 1846. Peter Squire, the grandfather of the present representative of the firm, had received on Saturday morning from New York a letter informing him that ether vapour inhaled produced anæsthesia. He took it immediately to Liston, who said, 'Go to work at once, and make the best kind of inhaler you can after the description given.' This he completed on Sunday, and Liston, approving it, sent a note to the hospital that a certain patient in the surgical ward, whose thigh was awaiting amputation, was to be operated on on Monday at two o'clock by a new process; and notice was posted accordingly. The theatre was filled, of course, and the operation proved successful. It became the talk of the town, and was followed subsequently at the other hospitals. His manner was free, open, and genial; and rendered him extremely popular with all the students, who followed him in great number in his visits to the wards. He was an excellent horseman, and enjoyed early morning rides about the north suburbs of London. He kept his yacht—I forget lying where—but was in the habit of making a long day's sail whenever he could on Sundays . . . [he] was a surgeon, and nothing but a surgeon, having no interests, artistic, literary, or scientific, except in connection with his profession; for he was in the habit of using his microscope with care and intelligence. But far from being a dry professional drudge,

[1] *D.N.B.*

he was a man exceedingly (one might say excessively) fond of all kinds of pleasure." [1]

He was also a fencer, a boxer, and a good shot.[2] Of the famous operation Sir Henry Thompson wrote a thinly disguised account in the first volume of the *Cornhill Magazine*.[3] There is a bust of Liston by Campbell in the library of the Medical School.

William Sharpey,[4] appointed to the chair of Anatomy and Physiology in 1836, was at the time of his appointment a man of thirty-four, and had been a lecturer in anatomy in the extra-mural school at Edinburgh since 1831. He had had an exceptionally long and thorough training at Edinburgh and the leading continental schools, and was thoroughly acquainted with the best continental teaching, yet there were better known candidates in the field and some surprise was caused by his appointment.[5] The Council, however, seems to have taken peculiar care in making its choice,[6] and was fully justified by the event. Although by training not a physiologist but an anatomist, his work at the college during the long tenure of his chair, which lasted until 1874, earned for him the title of the father of modern physiology in this country. He carried out very little original investigation, especially during his later years at the college, but his position as secretary of the Royal Society from 1853–72, his previous training, and his close association with the men abroad who were advancing the subject by their investigations, had a great influence on his teaching, and he was able to arouse the curiosity and to inspire the enthusiasm of those associated with him in the department.[7]

[1] *University College Gazette*, ii, 1901–2, 202–3; *cf.* F. W. Cock: *The First Operation under Ether in Europe—The Story of Three Days* in *University College Hospital Magazine*, i, 1911, 127–44.

[2] *Notes*, 175.

[3] *Under Chloroform* in *The Cornhill Magazine*, i, 1860, 499–504; *cf. University College Gazette*, ii, 1901–2, 202.

[4] *D.N.B.*

[5] *London Medical and Surgical Journal*, n.s., i, 965 (20 Aug., 1836).

[6] Minutes, iii, ff. 53–65, 84.

[7] *Cf.* E. H. Starling: *A Century of Physiology*, 1927, 14–7.

"Although," wrote Schäfer, "a chair of Human Anatomy was founded at the same time with a special teacher of that subject, a large part of Sharpey's teaching continued to be pure Anatomy; and since a further large part was devoted to Histology, relatively speaking the subject of pure Physiology had a far less important place in the medical curriculum than it occupies now. Nevertheless, his teaching of Physiology was both sound and thorough. He had very little apparatus to illustrate his lectures, and hardly ever actually showed an experiment, but his descriptions of the principles underlying the use of apparatus employed in Physiology were so clear that we never had any difficulty in understanding how the results were arrived at. In the absence of a blackened drum to show how the tracing of a muscle curve might be taken, his old rumpled chimney-pot hat served excellently in illustration of the method employed." [1]

He never, it is reported, "wrote out his lectures, excepting an introductory one, and he delivered them all without any assistance from writing beyond very short jottings on small slips of paper. He made use of diagrams and pictorial illustrations as well as of anatomical preparations and physiological experiments, and he was one of the first to introduce the employment of the microscope for the practical illustration of his lectures." [2]

There is still in the Common Room of the department of Medical Sciences the oval table which Sharpey constructed for this purpose. There is a hole in the centre of the table and a brass strip let in near the circumference. An iron bar was placed in the centre hole carrying an arm, at the end of which was a microscope which could be revolved on the brass slip. Sharpey would sit at one end of the table with six or eight of his best pupils round him. He would prepare a specimen and place it under the microsope, and would then pass it round for the students to examine in their turn. From such small beginnings there subsequently grew the courses in practical physiology, but the story of that development belongs to a later chapter in the college history.

In person and character Sharpey is described by Schäfer as:

"a man of robust intellect and sound common sense; not a great speaker and writer as was Huxley, but nevertheless a great teacher,—

[1] *University College Gazette*, ii, 1901–2, 238–9.

[2] *Proceedings of the Royal Society of London*, xxxi, 1881, *Obituary Notices of ellows Deceased*, xiv.

one who knew how to impress the facts which he taught upon the minds of his hearers ; and this without any parade of oratory but by plain statements in clear language with just sufficient iteration to emphasise the main points of the subject. In person he was large and stoutly built, reminding one of an enlarged edition of Mr. Pickwick, and he had a habit when lecturing of keeping his left arm rigidly to his side or somewhat behind him which was also suggestive of that genial creation. But there the resemblance ended. There was no sign of ' Bill Stumps his mark ' about the science which Sharpey imparted to his hearers, for any discoveries which he gave out either on his own authority or on that of others, were subjected to every possible test of scrutiny and criticism before they were promulgated by him : a cautious manner of proceeding which was perhaps in part due to the Scottish blood which he derived from his mother, and which, while it tended to diminish the number of works which proceeded from his pen, gave a very special character of accuracy to those which he thought well to publish." [1]

" He is a very nice old fellow, and one of the best physiologists alive," wrote Jevons in 1852. " He attended Mr. Graham's class this year with all the other students, and since Easter has been working all day in the laboratory, with Dr. Williamson telling him how to do the things. You must not complain of me making messes and blows-up in the cellar if an old chap of sixty begins to learn to do it." [2]

He was a genial member of the professors' common room.[3] Sir Henry Thompson remembered him as " a worthy, good-tempered and learned Scotchman enjoying great popularity and influence among the students." [4]

He died in 1880. There is a portrait of him by J. Prescott Knight in the Council Room, and a bust by W. H. Thorneycroft in the department of Physiology.

ii. Evening Classes

Besides the General and the Medical Departments the university included within the scope of its activities, before the 'thirties were out, evening classes for schoolmasters, and a school for boys. The classes for schoolmasters arose from a proposal by Brougham to allocate the interest derived from the

[1] *University College Gazette*, ii, 1901–2, 238.

[2] *Letters and Journal of W. Stanley Jevons.* Edited by his Wife, 1886, 15.

[3] S. E. De Morgan : *Memoir of Augustus De Morgan*, 1882, 267.

[4] Pen Oliver [Sir Henry Thompson] : *Charley Kingston's Aunt*, 1885, 30.

several anonymous donations made through him, about the employment of which there had been so much fruitless discussion, to "procuring, at a reduced rate of payment, admission to certain Classes of the College such Schoolmasters of the Metropolis and Neighbourhood as are desirous of availing themselves of the advantage." In accordance with his suggestion evening courses in Greek, mathematics, Latin, and natural philosophy, were opened to masters of unendowed schools and ushers at the beginning of 1839. Thirty-three entered for the four classes, three for mathematics alone.[1] One of them was Todhunter.[2] The largest number entered was 67 in 1853 and 1856. In 1850, the classes were opened to other than schoolmasters.[3] They continued until 1864, when the numbers had dropped to 13.[4] Those who attended them were recognised as students of the college, and were entitled to obtain certificates and therefore became admissible to examination for degrees.[5] The action of the college was afterwards regarded as one of the factors which, by undermining the value of the certificate, combined to destroy the principle that a degree should denote a regular course of academic training, and constrained the university to depend upon examinations.[6]

iii. The School

The foundation of a school in connection with the university was urged in *The Times* as early as September, 1829,[7] and the Council announced in February, 1830, that they would take the matter into their early consideration.[8] In the course of the year such a school was founded by some individual proprietors, and in order to connect it with the university the nomination of the headmaster was placed in the Council. The Rev. Henry Browne was appointed.[9] He issued a pros-

[1] *Ann. Rept.*, 1839, 7–8.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1840, 7; *Distribution of the Prizes. Faculty of Arts and Laws*, 1840, 7.

[3] *Ann. Rept.*, 185 1, 6.

[4] *Ibid.*, 1865, 5; 1866, 14; *cf.* 1857, 5–6.

[5] *Ibid.*, 1840, 7, 34; *Distribution of the Prizes. Faculty of Arts and Laws*, 1839, 6; *cf. Ann. Rept.*, 1844, 8.

[6] *The Quarterly Review*, clxiv, 1887, 45.

[7] *The Times*, 29 Sept., 1829, 2 d–e.

[8] *Ann. Rept.*, 1830, 10.

[9] *Ann. Rept.*, 1831, 7; *Athenæum*, 1830, 411, 683; *Cal.*, 1832, 225–9; Minutes, ii, ff. 43, 65, 81–2, 99.

pectus which raised a squall. Francis Place protested against it as containing an implication that the university was supporting a Church school. Brougham resented his interference, but the prospectus was amended.[1] The school opened at 16, Gower Street, on the 1st of November, 1830. By February, 1831, it had outgrown its quarters and there was a proposal to build.[2] At the Annual General Meeting of the Proprietors of the university Horner proposed that that building should take the shape of the south wing of the university.[3] But the university had other calls upon it, and in the event use was made of rooms in the existing building. The school was brought within the walls of the university in January, 1832, and placed under the joint control of Key and Malden.[4] Its numbers continued to increase rapidly.[5] "The junior school," wrote *The Times* in May, 1833, "has succeeded beyond any expectation which could have been entertained of the attempt to establish it two or three years ago."[6]

The school was remarkable for its originality. There were no compulsory subjects, and there was no rigid form system. Most of the boys learnt Latin, but also practically all learnt French, and many German. There was a good deal of mathematics, and the school had many successes at the older universities in that subject. Chemistry held an important place, and at a later date there was laboratory work. Those who did not take Latin, Greek, German, or mathematics, gave much of their time to English. There was little Greek, and no Latin verse-making. Applied mathematics and physics were taken by a few; botany was occasionally taught. There was physical but not political geography. To history Key was vehemently opposed, and it took but a small place, but there was a class in social science. There was no music. Drawing was popular enough to employ a large staff. The

[1] Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 27,824, ff. 335, 341–51, 353–9, 361, 365–6, 367; A. Bain: *James Mill. A Biography*, 1882, 354–5.

[2] *Athenæum*, 1831, 107.

[3] *Cf. ibid.*, 140; *The Morning Chronicle*, 24 Feb., 1831, 3 d.

[4] *Ann. Rept.*, 1832, 4–5; 1833, 8; Minutes, ii, ff. 276, 284, 325–6.

[5] *Ann. Rept.*, 1833, 9.

[6] *The Times*, 21 May, 1833, 5 c.

aim throughout was mental discipline, and as it contributed to that, so was each subject judged. There was no religious teaching, and the boys were of many creeds and denominations. There also was no flogging.[1]

The quality of the education which was provided, and the character of the place, attracted those who were not content to stand upon the ancient ways. The school had in time many distinguished pupils. Among them are numbered Frederick Leighton, Michael Foster, Joseph Chamberlain, Ingram Bywater, John Morley, Stanley Jevons, and William De Morgan.[2]

iv. Administration and Finance

To complete the view of the university in the first years of existence there yet remains something to be said about the fabric in which it was contained, about finance, and about that essential but transitory and so elusive member, the student.

The principal rooms at the start, since the first floor was but partly finished, were six Lecture Rooms on the ground-floor, four of which are now the Union Lounge, the Professors' Smoking-Room, the South Classroom, and the Office, and two in the area below the Library now occupied by Physics, together with two Theatres, that now used for Applied Mathematics and the Botanical Theatre, on the ground-floor, with two more above them. The northernmost Lecture Room was allotted to Medicine and Surgery, Physiology, and Comparative Anatomy and Zoology; the next to English, French, Italian, Spanish, Jurisprudence, and English Law;

[1] *Report of Commissioners on Education in Schools in England, not comprised within Her Majesty's two recent Commissions on Popular Education and Public Schools. Minutes of Evidence.* [Command paper] 3966, III, 313–31. H. of C., 1867–8, XXVIII, Pt. III; *Ann. Rept.*, 1845, 5; *cf.* H. Morley: *University College, London*, 1828–1878, 13, 30; *Life and Struggles of William Lovett . . .* With an Introduction by R. H. Tawney, 2 v., 1920, ii, 371–2.

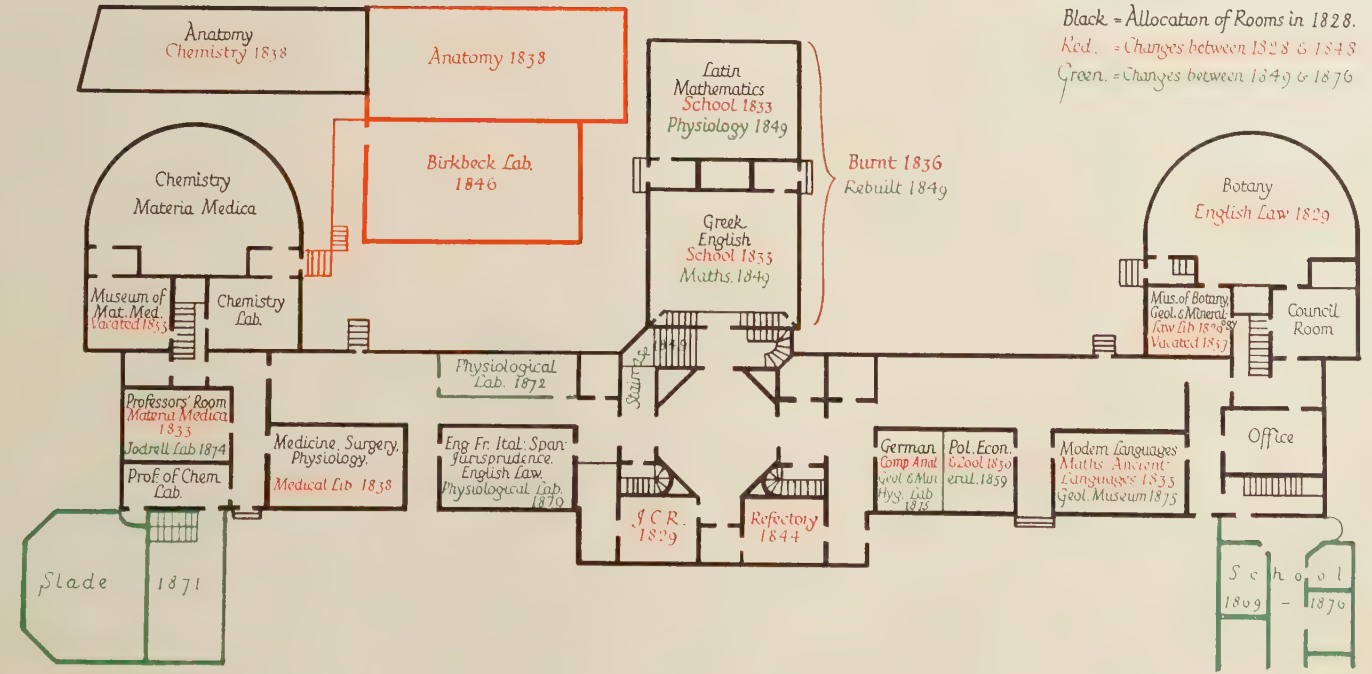
[2] *Cf.* Temple Orme: *University College School, London. Alphabetical and Chronological Register for* 1831–1891 [n.d.]; H. J. Spenser: *University College School Hampstead*, Hampstead, 1907; F. W. Felkin: *From Gower Street to Frognal: a Short History of University College School from* 1830 *to* 1907, 1909.

the present South Classroom to German and Political Economy; the room south of it, to various modern language classes. The Lower North Theatre, as it was called, was given to Materia Medica and Chemistry; the Upper North Theatre to Midwifery and Anatomy; the Lower South Theatre to Botany; the Upper South Theatre to Natural Philosophy. For English, Ancient Languages, and Mathematics there were the two Lecture Rooms under what is now the General Library. Of the three big rooms leading out of the present Flaxman Gallery, that to the north was destined for the Museum of Natural History; that which is now the Library, for the Great Hall; that which is now cut up for the Arts Libraries, for the General Library. But for the time being they were empty. Beyond them, north and south, were the Museum of Anatomy and the Small Library. The Chemical Laboratory was the southernmost of the two rooms behind the Lower North Theatre, occupying the same relation to it as the Council Room to the Lower South Theatre. Opposite to it was the Museum of Materia Medica, with the small room below it fitted up as a laboratory for the professor of Materia Medica.[1] The rooms immediately above were allotted to the medical library and the professor of Anatomy. A building in the North Court and the rooms below the Lower North Theatre were appropriated to anatomical work. In the South Cloister, the room now occupied by the beadle's box was to be appropriated to the collections of the professors of Botany, Geology, and Mineralogy, when they should have any. The rooms in the neighbourhood of the Upper South Theatre were occupied by the apparatus of the professor of Natural Philosophy. The Council Room was in its present position, the Office in what is now the Provost's Room. The present Union Writing-Room was the Professors' Common Room. There were Common Rooms for the students, where the Physical Laboratory now is, but Long and Key complained of the noise below their classrooms, and in the autumn of 1829 the room under the portico was divided into two and appropriated as a Common Room for the Junior Students.[2] The Refreshment Rooms were under the South

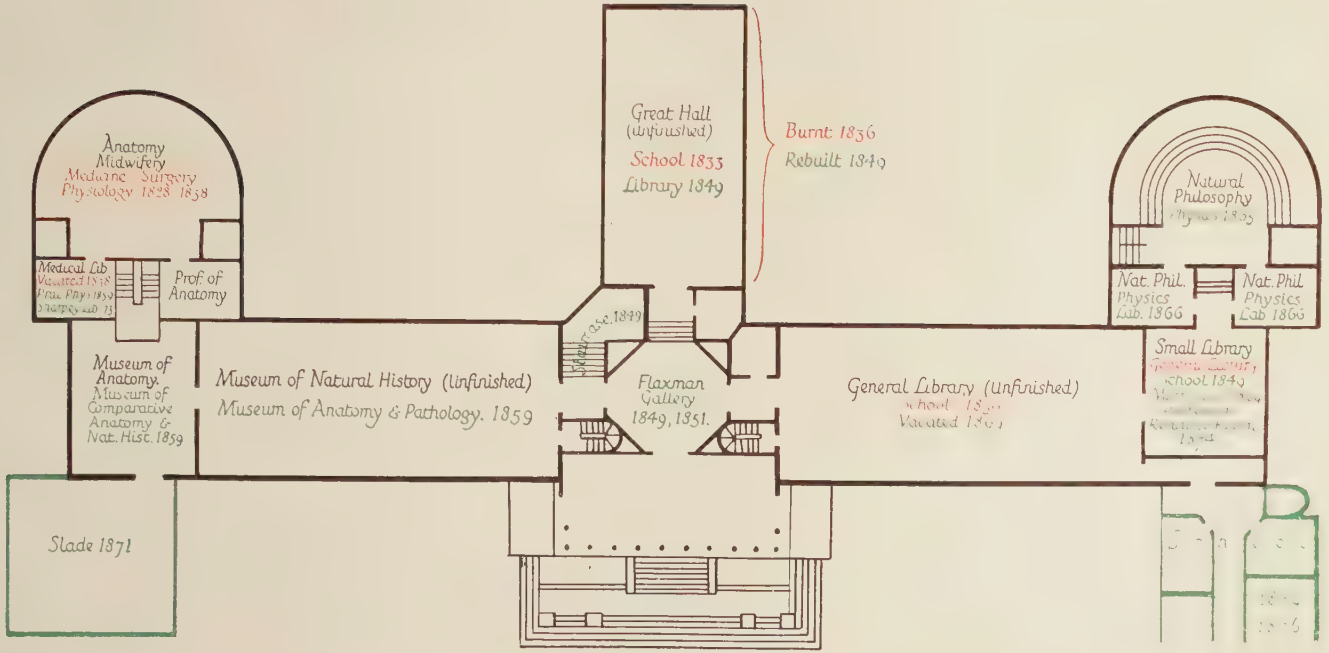
[1] Minutes, i, f. 228. [2] *Ibid.*, f. 359.

Plan of the Distribution of the Departments within the Building; 1828–1876.

Ground Floor.



First Floor.


Anatomy
Midwifery
Medicine Surgery
Physiology 1828 1838
Medical Lib
Vacated 1858
Prof. of Anatomy
Museum of Anatomy.
Museum of Comparative Anatomy & Nat. Hist. 1859
Museum of Natural History (Unfinished)
Museum of Anatomy & Pathology. 1859
Slade 1871
Great Hall
(unfinished)
School 1833
Library 1849
Burnt 1836
Rebuilt 1849
Flaxman Gallery
1849, 1851.
General Library (Unfinished)
Natural Philosophy
Nat. Phil.
Physics
Lab. 1866
Nat. Phil
Physics
Lab 1866
Small Library
School 1849

Cloister. The Cloisters, both north and south, were unglazed.[1]

It is to be observed that in the original plan the portico fulfilled a function of which it has since been deprived. It led immediately to the three principal rooms of the building, and the Great Hall lay directly behind it and upon the same level as the vestibule which we now call the Flaxman Gallery. What is now the main staircase did not then exist. The first floor was approached by two small internal staircases, of which one survives, and by the steps of the portico, and those steps, now so little used, were the main entrance for all ceremonial occasions.

The changes in the use to which the various parts of the building were devoted, which took place in the early years, reflect the fortunes of the several departments. Amos soon outgrew his lecture room and moved to the Botanical Theatre, appropriating for a Law Library the room destined for botanical, mineralogical, and geological collections.[2] More important alterations resulted from the prosperity of the medical department and of those branches of science more immediately connected with it, and the comparative failure of the rest of the General Department, and from the foundation and rapid success of a Junior School. In the summer of 1830, the room which we now call the South Classroom was allotted to the professor of Zoology and Comparative Anatomy for his specimens and lectures.[3] In 1833 separate provision was made for Materia Medica in the room hitherto used as the Professors' Common Room.[4] By 1838 the medical school was seriously overcrowded. The Upper North Theatre was required by different lecturers in successive hours without interval, since

[1] *Description of the Building for the University of London. From the Report of the Council to the Proprietors*, 30 *Sept.*, 1828; *London University Magazine*, i, 1829, 99-105; *Cal.*, 1831, xv–xvi; *Gentleman's Magazine*, xcviii, pt. ii, 1828, 293–6.

[2] *Report of the Class of English Law in the University of London, for the Session* 1828–1829. *Delivered by Professor Amos, at the Adjudication of Prizes, on the 9th of July*, 1829. Published by the Law Class, 1829, 6.

[3] Minutes, ii, f. 111.

[4] *London Medical Gazette*, xiii, 11 (1 Oct., 1833); *cf. Ann. Rept.*, 1875, 12; *Cal.*, 1877, plan.

the medical classes allotted to the northernmost Lecture Room could no longer be contained in it,[1] and great difficulty was experienced in getting ready and removing drawings and preparations.[2] The attendance of students, particularly at the anatomical lectures, partly on account of the popularity of Richard Quain's teaching, partly in consequence of the regulations of the Society of Apothecaries, exceeded the capacity of even the theatre.[3] Rooms inconveniently situated were being used for anatomical preparations, and the dissecting room was too small.[4] Accordingly in June, 1838, the Council decided to build a new dissecting room in the North Court, and, as a consequential change, the old dissecting room, taken from Anatomy, was given for Practical Chemistry,[5] while at the same time the Medical Library was moved to what is now the Union Lounge, where it remained until 1907.[6] Meanwhile, to the school, which was brought within the walls of the university in January, 1832, and for which a playground was laid out in that year,[7] there had been allotted in 1833 the Hall and the rooms below it.[8] In October, 1836, this block was burned down.[9] It was fully insured, but the Council determined, rather than rebuild, to complete the main block and to convert to the use of the school that part of the first floor of the south wing originally designed for the Great Library.[10] Some work was done upon the destroyed block in 1838,[11] but it was not properly rebuilt until 1849.[12]

The founders were freely criticised for their hasty and

[1] *Cf.* Minutes, iii, ff. 146–7.
[2] *Ibid.*, f. 146.
[3] *Ibid.*, ff. 146, 60.
[4] *Ibid.*, f. 147.
[5] *Ibid.*, 9 June, 1838, 6 Oct., 1838; *Ann. Rept.*, 1839, 8–9.
[6] Minutes, iii, ff. 147, 148; *Ann. Rept.*, 1839, 7.
[7] *Ann. Rept.*, 1833, 2.
[8] *Ibid.*, 1834, 4; *Athenæum*, 1831, 604; *The Morning Chronicle*, 14 Oct., 1831, 1 a; *The Times*, 6 Oct., 1836, 5 d.
[9] *The Times*, 6 Oct., 1836, 5 d; *Ann. Rept.*, 1837, 9; Minutes, iii, ff. 66, 69–74.
[10] *Ann Rept.*, 1837, 9–10, 1838, 10–1; Minutes, iii, ff. 92, 100.
[11] *St. James's Chronicle and General Evening Post*, 2 Aug., 1838, 3 e; *cf.* Minutes, iii, f. 150; W. H. Leeds: *Illustrations of the Public Buildings of London . . . Supplement*, 1838, 88.
[12] *Ann. Rept.*, 1838, 8–9, 1849, 7.

lavish expenditure.[1] Had they attended upon experience the building might have been better fitted to its purpose. Its erection certainly embarrassed their finances.

Greatly exaggerated hopes were entertained of the number of students who would enter. Brougham assured Lardner in 1827 that he might expect to earn £1,200 a year in fees.[2] Two thousand students were talked of.[3] It took over eighty years to reach that figure. In 1828–9 there were 624, in 1829–30, 630. Then the number began to fall.[4] By the session of 1831–2 the position had become alarming.[5] Financial embarrassment was immediately felt.

Shares were subscribed for down to 1835, although by 1834 they had fallen to £23.[6] In February, 1835, the sum actually received amounted to £156,655. To this must be added subscriptions and donations to the amount of £3,094 odd, making a total of £159,749.[7] Upon the original home of the university as it stood before the fire of 1836, with the wings unbuilt and two of the three principal rooms on the first floor unfinished, there had been spent £127,790 odd, including the purchase of the site and the expenditure in converting the Great Hall to the use of the school. To this must be added £15,533 odd, spent upon furniture, apparatus, and library, making a total of £143,323.[8] It left a very slender reserve for an institution whose endowments down to October, 1836, amounted to £2,543 7*s.* 6*d.*[9] It meant that the university was almost entirely dependent upon its fee revenue to meet its current expenses. And in the first years this account had to bear an exceptional burden in the shape of guarantees to professors.

A cardinal principle in the policy of the university was that of the dependence of the professors upon fees.[10] It was acknowledged that the desire to accumulate fees ought not

[1] *Cf. Atlas*, v, 154 a (7 March, 1830); *The Times*, 28 Feb., 1841, 4 a.

[2] *Statements respecting the University of London, prepared, at the desire of the Council, by nine of the Professors*, 1830, 23.

[3] *Statement*, 26. [4] *The Morning Chronicle*, 25 April, 1834, 1 b.

[5] *Ann. Rept.*, 1833, 3. [6] *The Times*, 11 April, 1834, 3 d.

[7] *Ann. Rept.*, 1835, 10. [8] *Ibid.* [9] *Ibid.*, 1837, 19.

[10] Minutes, ii, f. 91; *Statements respecting the University of London, prepared, at the desire of the Council, by nine of the Professors*, 1830, p. ii.

to be the only motive which should animate a professor, but Scottish experience was held to have proved that men lectured best when they were hungry. Imminent destitution was a necessary spur to intellectual activity.[1] Yet the doctrine in all its purity could not be realised at once. If 'no reputation, no students, and no students, no income' was a plausible rule for an institution of some standing, it was difficult to enforce when the university itself was new and the professors inherited no good-will. At the start, accordingly, salaries were guaranteed. Most of the professors were assured an income of £300 a year for three years,[2] but there were some exceptions. The professor of Botany seems not to have been included in the arrangement. The guarantee for Clinical Medicine was only £250.[3] The professors of Italian, German, Spanish, and Oriental Languages were to receive £200, and that for two years only,[4] although a special grant of £150 in addition to fees was made to Rosen in the session 1830–1 [5]; and Hurwitz had only a grant of £100 for the first session.[6] Carswell, on the other hand, received £350 for the first two years while abroad.[7] To Long an additional grant of £200 was made in 1828–9, and his guarantee was raised to £500.[8] Lardner received £200 in each of the first two sessions, exclusive of fees,[9] and McCulloch secured the increase of his guarantee to £400.[10] In 1831 the subvention ceased. The income of a professor was reduced to two-thirds of the fees of such students as he could attract, the remaining third going to the university.[11] "Teufelsdröckh, 'recommended by the

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 51; J. Yates: *Thoughts on the Advancement of Academical Education in England*, 2nd ed., 1827, 150–3; *The Edinburgh Review*, xvi, 1810, 168; *The Monthly Repository*, n.s., i, 1827, 169; H. G. Graham: *The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, 2 v., 1899, ii, 204.

[2] Minutes, i, ff. 187, 308–9; ii, f. 58; *cf. Sun*, 22 April, 1830, 3 d; App. I, B, i, No. 36, pp. 23–4.

[3] Minutes, i, ff. 187, 308–9; ii, 85.

[4] *Ibid.*, i, ff. 230, 308–9, 369.

[5] *Ibid.*, ii, ff. 54–5; *cf.* 6, 48.

[6] *Ibid.*, i, ff. 264, 269.

[7] *Ibid.*, ii, f. 50; *cf. Ann. Rept.*, 1833, 3.

[8] Minutes, i, ff. 312–3; *cf. Sun*, 24 April, 1830, 2 a.

[9] Minutes, i, f. 326; *cf.* ii, ff. 9, 106, 117; App. I, B, i, No. 36, pp. 22–6.

[10] Minutes, i, f. 327.

[11] *Statement*, 18; Minutes, i, ff. 334, 340; *Ann. Rept.*, 1833, 6–7; *cf. ibid.*, 3.

highest Names,' had been promoted thereby to a Name merely." [1]

The guarantees cost the university just under £6,300.[2] Austin's fees for the session 1829–30, for example, amounted to £120. Some classes failed completely, and the university had to make good the whole sum.[3] Meanwhile, the Council had engaged a Warden at a salary of £1,200 a year, and the fee revenue in the most favourable years was not quite sufficient to meet the ordinary running expenses. As early as 1830 the more critical became anxious. "My last account of the university, of its prospects and of ours as connected with it," wrote Sarah Austin to her sister in April, "was full of gloomy forebodings. I cannot say that, looking at the institution at large and for any permanent futurity, these are much removed. It is the opinion of many, I almost fear of most, that it contains within itself the seeds of dissolution. The expenditure has been lavish, the plans are ill-digested, and vibrating, like all things in which the Whigs have a hand, between the desire of being popular and the fear of being unfashionable, so as of course to satisfy neither class whom they seek to conciliate by cowardly half-measures. The Council are not united, and the professors as a body are openly at war with the Council." [4]

"I understand," said Sydney Smith, "they have already seized on the air-pump, the exhausted receiver, and galvanic batteries; and that the bailiffs have been seen chasing the Professor of Modern History round the quadrangle." [5] In April, 1830, Hume resigned from the Council on account of his disagreement with what he considered to be the ruinous financial policy of the majority of his colleagues,[6] and in July openly expressed his dissatisfaction when it was acknowledged that the university was eating up its capital at the rate of £1,000 a year.[7] Reliance was put upon an increase of students. But instead of increasing the number declined.

[1] *Sartor Resartus*, Bk. I, c. iii, in *Fraser's Magazine*, viii, 1833, 586.

[2] *Ann. Repts.*, 1829–32.

[3] Janet Ross: *Three Generations of Englishwomen*, 2 v., 1888, i, 63–4.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Lady Holland: *A Memoir of the Rev. Sydney Smith*, 1869, 175.

[6] *Lancet, MDCCCXXIX–XXX*, ii, 303.

[7] *The Times*, 8 July, 1830, 6 e.

"I take it for granted," wrote Hallam in October, 1831, "the stoppage for want of funds will occur not later than February."[1] By October, 1832, there was a deficit of £2,946, which was expected to increase to £4,000 by the end of the session.[2]

In February, 1833, accordingly, the Council was constrained to make the statement to the proprietors that "at the close of the present session, unless some of the plans suggested . . . be adopted, they may be reduced to the necessity of giving notice that the Institution cannot reopen upon its present footing."[3] The plans were a charter, a hospital, and an annual subscription of £1,000. But crippled finances served rather to support those who opposed than those who petitioned for a charter,[4] and were a poor argument to justify an appeal to the charitable for the foundation of a hospital,[5] and the subscribers remained a fond expectation. From its dilemma the Council was rescued by the professors. They gave expression to their faith in the future of the university and in the essential soundness of its financial position,[6] and guaranteed to the Council an income of £3,181 for the session 1833–4.[7] A loan for £4,000 was raised in August to meet the debts,[8] economies were effected, and in February, 1834, the Council was able to announce that for the first time the university had been able out of its proportion of fees to meet the annual ordinary expenses of the institution.[9]

The action of the professors is the more to their credit, as their own profit was meagre. The total sum divided among them in the session 1832–3 was £4,388, 5*s*.[10] For the next

[1] *Memoir of Leonard Horner.* Edited by his daughter Katharine Lyell, 2 v., 1890, i, 259.

[2] *Ann. Rept.*, 1833, 3, 11. [3] *Ibid.*, 11.

[4] *Petition of the Royal College of Surgeons of London to His Majesty, on the Application from the London University for a Charter to empower them to grant Medical Degrees.* H. of C. 602, I–II, of 1834, XIII, App., Pt. ii., 60–1.

[5] *Cf. London Medical Gazette*, xi, 742–3 (2 March, 1833), 803–7 (16 March, 1833).

[6] *Ann. Gen. Meeting*, 1833, App.; *cf. Lancet, MDCCCXXXII–XXXIII*, i, 758–60, 785–9.

[7] *Ann. Rept.*, 1834, 3. [8] *Ibid.*, 4. [9] *Ibid.*, 3.

[10] MS. in the college library.

thirty years there was no permanent improvement. In 1863–4 the amount was actually less. From the division of these exiguous sums a few derived a moderate income. In the session 1832–3, Jones Quain received £704, Turner £623, and Richard Quain, £508. But others were left to starve. The professor of English got £30, the professor of Philosophy £21, and the professor of German £11 10*s*.[1] De Morgan's fees never exceeded £500, and in later years seldom amounted to more than £300.[2]

v. Student Life

No part of the story of the early days of the university is more difficult to recover than that of the life of its students.

Work began with the Modern Language lectures at 8 o'clock in the morning. "The Council having ascertained that the hour of half-after eight in the morning, which was fixed for the Greek and Latin Classes, would be very inconvenient to those residing in the villages round London, . . . altered the hour for those classes to half-past nine."[3] Prestwich walked eight miles daily in coming from and returning to his home in South Lambeth.[4] Many, if not most of the students must have spent their whole day at the college. It was calculated that breakfasts and dinners in the refectory would cost them about 10*s*. 6*d*. a week.[5] But the refectory was unpopular, partly, it was suggested, because the professors, although not in the same room, were within earshot.[6]

It was the plan of the university that most of the students should follow a regular course and submit to periodic examination, upon which should be awarded professors' and university certificates.[7] In the event there prevailed something very like what is known in the United States as the 'elective system,' and very few troubled to qualify for certificates even in those subjects which they chose.

[1] MS. in the college library.

[2] S. E. De Morgan: *Memoir of Augustus De Morgan*, 1882, 340 n.

[3] *Rept.*, 30 *Sept.*, 1828, 4.

[4] *Life and Letters of Sir Joseph Prestwich* . . . Written and edited by his wife, 1899, 23.

[5] *Lancet, MDCCCXXIX–XXX*, i, 32.

[6] Minutes, iii, f. 150.

[7] *Cal.*, 1831, 2–3.

"The Universities of London and Virginia," Long wrote to Cocke, "are the same in their general plan. . . . We allow, for instance, students to choose their own classes, but the Council, who correspond to the visitors, recommend a certain course to those who enter at an early period of life."[1] Prestwich entered for Greek, Latin, mathematics, chemistry, and natural philosophy, but dropped Greek and Latin, and neglected mathematics, to concentrate his attention upon science.[2] Only one-eighth of the class on English Law submitted to examination in the session 1828–9.[3] Cavour, who visited the university in 1835, was very unfavourably impressed.

"*Les élèves*," he wrote, "*sont absolument les maîtres de suivre les cours qu'ils veulent, indépendamment les uns des autres ; seulement ils sont obligés de se faire inscrire et de payer proportionellement au nombre de cours qu'ils ont l'intention de suivre. C'est une institution où il se donne des cours sur toutes les branches principales des sciences physiques et morales. L'élève lorsqu'il a fini son cours subit un examen et s'il se tire avec honneur de cette épreuve, il reçoit un certificat de capacité dans cette branche particulière. Ainsi un élève peut avoir trois certificats, un autre deux et un troisième un seul. Il résulte de là à mon avis que ces certificats ne sont d'aucune valeur.*" Perhaps, he added, the institution of a degree would give "*plus d'unité et d'ensemble à cette institution qui me paraît maintenant dans un état médiocre sous tous les rapports.*" The school, he thought, was the best part of the institution.[4]

Thirty of those students whose ages are entered in the register for the first session were under fifteen ; two of them were only eleven.[5] It was intended that a daily record of attendances should be kept, and monthly reports sent to

[1] P. A. Bruce: *History of the University of Virginia*, 1819–1919, 5 v., N.Y., 1920–2, ii, 157.

[2] *Life and Letters of Sir Joseph Prestwich* . . . Written and edited by his wife, 1899, 20, 22.

[3] *Report of the Class of English Law in the University of London, for the Session* 1828–1829. *Delivered by Professor Amos, at the Adjudication of Prizes, on the 9th day of July*, 1829. Published by the Law Class, 8.

[4] *Diario inedito con note autobiografiche del Conte di Cavour.* Pubblicato . . . di Domenico Berti, Rome, 1888, 187–8 ; *cf.* F. von Raumer: *England in* 1835, 3 v., 1836, iii, 257–8.

[5] Register of Students, i, ff. 21, 63.

parents and guardians,[1] but these rules were not observed.[2] For discipline reliance was placed, as Dale put it, "in that propriety of demeanour and delicacy of feeling which are always conspicuous in young men of liberal education,"[3] but Key once found the feelings of one of these young men so far from delicate as to make it necessary to order his removal from his lecture-room by force.[4]

The medical students most rapidly developed some sort of corporate life. They were quick to act as a body in defence of their professional interests. They met in 1834 to protest against some new regulations of the College of Surgeons,[5] and were prominently associated with a meeting of medical students at the Crown and Anchor in protest against the Society of Apothecaries in 1836.[6] They met, by invitation of the professors, at weekly, later monthly, conversazione in the Museum. "Every Saturday, such of the younger part of the scientific community—I mean the pupils—as have behaved with due diligence and propriety during the week," wrote a correspondent to the *London Medical Gazette*, "have awarded to them, as a prize, an introduction to the evening meeting, where they are treated with tea and coffee, bread and butter, and instructive conversation."[7] They startled the medical world by giving a dinner to their professors; a thing which had never been done before.[8] They were the first to found a student club. The Medical Society began as early as November, 1828. On the 8th of that month the society applied for leave to meet in one of the lecture rooms. The Council instructed the Warden to convey its "high approbation

[1] *Cal.*, 1831, 2.

[2] *Cf. The Times*, 4 July, 1831, 3 c–e.

[3] T. Dale: *An Introductory Lecture delivered in the University of London, on Friday, October* 24, 1828, 4th ed., 1829, 26–7.

[4] Minutes, ii, f. 201.

[5] *Lancet, MDCCCXXXIV–XXXV*, i, 322–4, 326–8; *London Medical Gazette*, xv, 315–7 (29 Nov., 1834).

[6] *London Medical Gazette*, xvii, 660–3, 691–2, 743–5, 819, 832 (Jan.-Feb., 1836).

[7] *Ibid.*, vii, 372 (18 Dec., 1830); *cf.* xiii, 18 (5 Oct., 1833); Minutes, ii, ff. 149–50.

[8] *Lancet, MDCCCXXXI–XXXII*, i, 812.

. . . of a measure so calculated to improve the education of the students." [1]

The Medical was followed by the Literary and Philosophical Society. The Council was told on the 29th of November, 1828, that the Society was "about to be formed," and that it wanted a room in which to meet. The reply was cautious. The Council approved generally, but the petition "can only be granted," it added, "under certain restrictions, both as regards the principles upon which it is to be established, and the arrangements for the place of meeting." [2] There were excepted from its discussions subjects "of a theological nature, and such political events as fall within a period of twenty years anterior to the time of discussion." [3] The Literary and Philosophical was the Debating Society of those days.

"Among the principal speakers," wrote Henry Solly [4] fifty years later, "were [F.] Lucas, then a sturdy young Quaker, who afterwards became a Roman Catholic, and Editor of 'The Tablet,' a man of remarkable energy and intellectual vigour; Macaulay, a younger brother of Lord Macaulay, afterwards eminent in the Indian Civil Service, who shone resplendent in our eyes, not only through his brother's reflected glory, but by his own youthful eloquence; W. Dougal Christie, one of the ablest students that ever sate in our class-rooms, afterwards M.P. for Weymouth, and subsequently Ambassador to the Brazils; Riethmüller, a remarkably clever and somewhat poetical genius, but who always seemed to me a miniature embodiment of Mephistopheles; with others whose names I cannot now recall. Well I remember how the eloquent weekly out-pourings of these young aspirants for fame affected my dear college chum, J. Bentham Mill (younger brother of John Stuart Mill) and myself, as we sate vehemently applauding and longing for the time when we also might dare to emulate them. The debates were held in what was then the Mathematical Lecture-room, the first on the right hand as you enter from the front court." [5]

[1] Minutes, i, ff. 236–7; *Laws of The Medical Society of the London University, instituted* 1828 [n.d.]; *Cal.*, 1831, 231; *London Medical Gazette*, n.s., i, 135 (20 Oct., 1838). [2] Minutes, i, ff. 250, 266.

[3] *Cal.*, 1831, 233; *cf. London University Magazine*, i, 1856, 471; *Notes*, 109–10.

[4] H. Solly: *"These Eighty Years," or, The Story of an Unfinished Life*, 2 v., 1893, i, 128–63.

[5] *Notes*, 87–8; *cf. Poems and Essays by the late William Caldwell Roscoe.* Edited by R. H. Hutton, 2 v., 1860, i, p. xviii.

Faction ran high and at one time there was a secession, and an opposition society was formed, which met in the neighbourhood of the university, and added boxing, fencing, and single-stick to its activities.[1]

The Law Society was formed in February, 1829, under the title of the London University Society,[2] receiving an introductory address from James Whiteside.[3] In 1834 we obtain a fleeting glimpse of an Historical Society and of an apparently independent Historical and Literary Debating Society, and in December of that year there was founded a Chemical and Physical Society.[4]

The discussion of academic subjects the Council was ready, under proper safeguards, to approve. Upon the value of exciting interest in topics less strictly germane to the business of the student it was a little doubtful. In 1831 some students petitioned for leave to organise a collection on behalf of the suffering Irish and for the grant of a room in which to hold a meeting. Their petition was refused.[5] It had no hesitation in condemning the dissipation of time in literary adventure. In June, 1829, it received a letter from a person who described himself as "the Editor of the London University Magazine." He sought the countenance and favour of the Council for his periodical. The publisher was told that the Council would not sanction any work of which it had not the entire control and that the title was not approved.[6] He replied that it was now difficult to change the name, and pleaded in defence that none of the men directly connected with the work were matriculated students. "The Council," he was informed, "are gratified at hearing that none of the present Students are connected with a publication tending to distract their attention from the prosecution of their

[1] C. J. Riethmüller: *Frederick Lucas. A Biography*, 1862, 16.

[2] *Introductory Address to the Members of the London University Society. Delivered from the Chair on Monday Evening, February* 25, 1829. *By James Whiteside, A.B. T.C.D. Student of the Law Class in The London University;* Minutes, i, f. 278; *Report of the Class of English Law . . . for the Session* 1828-1829 . . . 6; *London University Magazine*, i, 1829, 302–10; *Laws of the Law Society of the University of London*, 1833; *Notes*, 87 b; *Cal.*, 1831, 232.

[3] *D.N.B.* [4] Corres., Nos. 3147, 3162, 3368.

[5] Minutes, ii, f. 291; Corres., No. 2152. [6] Minutes, i, f. 321.

prescribed studies, and to bring them prematurely before the publick."[1] But the publisher's explanation was disingenuous, and the authors were well known in the university and numbered among the senior and, as they were called, 'occasional' students.[2]

The *London University Magazine*, published monthly at 2*s.* 6*d.*, reached two volumes. Its literary effusions have received short shrift, but there are in it some interesting articles upon academic questions, and it contains much matter that is valuable for the history of the college. By the students of the time it was regarded as the organ of their elders, and F. Lucas started a rival, the *London University Chronicle*, in which the politics of the university, and, in particular, the merits of the professors could be canvassed with greater frankness. It was a weekly printed paper of eight pages, octavo, priced at twopence. The first number is dated the 26th of April, 1830. It contained an Address to Students and strictures on the *London University Magazine*. It was, it seems, a short-lived publication, and the college possesses no file of it.[3] At about the same date, a third and yet more ephemeral publication appeared, *The Marauder*.[4] In rivalry with the *Chronicle* there was issued in 1833 *The London University Examiner*, edited by C. Dobson Collet and his brother, and circulated in manuscript.[5] It made it its special business to report the proceedings of student societies. The first number was issued on the 22nd of January, 1833. The magazine came to an end with the fifteenth number issued on the 22nd of May, having reached some five hundred pages. It was a very vigorous and radical journal, containing articles on Irish misrule, the Ministry, of which it was very critical, the discussion of political questions in literary and scientific institutions, national education, church reform, slavery, and the rights of women, with reports of the proceedings of the National Political Union, and an indignant

[1] Minutes, i, f. 331.

[2] The London University Examiner [No. 3], ff. 13–4; Corres., No. 1482; C. J. Riethmüller: *Frederick Lucas. A Biography*, 1862, 16.

[3] *Notes*, 87, 88–9.

[4] C. J. Riethmüller: *Frederick Lucas. A Biography*, 1862, 17.

[5] Now in the college library.

protest against the way in which the authorities handled the meeting in Cold Bath Fields. Its reports of the activities of the societies suggest that the frowns of the elders had as little effect in discouraging the discussion of topics with which young gentlemen of sixteen had no business as in preventing the sin of journalism.[1] The Law Society debated whether the National Political Union was an illegal body, and the Literary and Philosophical Society discussed the ballot, and was equally divided on the question whether an established church were an essential part of the government of every Christian country. There were apparently in circulation at the same time two other periodicals, *The London University Inquirer* and *The Adventurer or London University Magazine*.[2]

The first names in the register of students are those of C. Z. Macaulay, J. B. Mill, and F. D. Goldsmid. At the foot of the next page but one is that of Robert Browning. His father became a proprietor in order that he might send his son to the university. "He so earnestly desires I would interest myself in procuring his admittance, that I should feel myself wanting, as a Parent, were I to neglect any step to procure what he deems so essential to his future happiness," wrote Mr. Browning to the secretary in April, 1828.[3] He entered for Greek, Latin, and German. Lodgings were taken in Bedford Square that he might be at the university by eight o'clock in the morning when the German class was held. But he forsook them, and, perhaps, the German class, at the end of a week.[4] In May, 1829, he withdrew from the university altogether.

"I am very sorry," wrote his father, "to communicate my son's determination to withdraw from the London University, (an event as painful as it was unexpected) but I must at the same time assure you that I am entirely satisfied with every thing that has been done on your part, and make my grateful acknowledgments for the kind and affectionate treatment with which you have always behaved to him."[5]

[1] *Cf.* C. J. Riethmüller: *Frederick Lucas. A Biography*, 1862, 10.

[2] The London University Examiner, ff. 194, 430; Minutes, ii, ff. 389–90, 400.

[3] Corres., No. 655; *The Times*, 17 Dec., 1926, 15 e.

[4] W. H. Griffin and H. C. Minchin: *The Life of Robert Browning*, 2nd ed., 1911, 48; *T.P.'s and Cassell's Weekly*, n.s., vii, 1927, 617.

[5] Corres., No. 1252; *The Times*, 17 Dec., 1926, 15 e.

Among his contemporaries were J. W. Draper, afterwards a professor in the University of New York and author of the *History of the Intellectual Development of Europe*; F. D. Maurice, just down from Cambridge; John Forster, historian and biographer of Dickens; Gerald Griffin, dramatist and novelist; J. G. Phillimore, himself a jurist and the brother of Sir Robert Phillimore; James Whiteside, who became lord chief-justice of Ireland; T. Gordon Hake, poet and later the friend of Rossetti and of Borrow; J. W. Donaldson, philologist; E. J. Quekett, microscopist; Frederick Lucas, the founder of *The Tablet*, and his friend and biographer, C. Riethmüller; Joseph Prestwich, the geologist; Nathaniel Rothschild, third son of Nathan Meyer Rothschild; and J. J. Sylvester, then aged fourteen, to be shortly expelled for taking a table-knife from the refectory with the intention of sticking it into a fellow student who had incurred his displeasure.[1] America was represented by Octavius Undecimus Trezevant, whose mother was a niece of that eccentric but benevolent millionaire, John Farquhar, and whose family had left poverty in Charleston to enjoy in England the inheritance which came to her from him. The session 1829–30 brought G. Viner Ellis, R. Monckton Milnes, afterwards Lord Houghton and now just down from Cambridge; and W. D. Christie, diplomatist and editor of Dryden. J. T., later Sir James Timmins, Chance, manufacturer and lighthouse engineer, who became a prominent citizen of Birmingham, entered in 1830–31. In 1831–2 there came James Emerson, afterwards Sir James Emerson Tennent, traveller and civil servant; J. R. Quain, who became a judge; William Farr, statistician, and John [Morgan] and James Paul Cobbett, sons of William Cobbett, just called to the bar. J. E. Erichsen and Dobson Collet, later famous as a political organiser, particularly in connection with the repeal of the paper duties, came in 1832; F. S., later Sir Francis Seymour, Haden, etcher and surgeon; T. B. Potter, member of a family famous in the mercantile and political history of Manchester, and himself the successor of Cobden in the representation of Rochdale; J. W. Agnew, to become premier of Tasmania, and Jacob Waley, afterwards professor

[1] *Cf.* Corres., Box xxix, *s.v.* Key.

of Economics, in 1833; E. A. Parkes, famous for his services to the cause of hygiene, and Joseph Maclise, brother of the painter and himself an able draughtsman, in 1834–5; William, afterwards Sir William, Jenner, in 1835; C. J. Hargreave, later professor of Jurisprudence, and Richard, afterwards Sir Richard, Quain, in 1836–7; J. G. Greenwood, to become principal of Owens College, Manchester, and J. Marshall, later professor of Surgery, in 1837–8; G. Jessel, afterwards Master of the Rolls, E. H., later Sir Edward, Sieveking, physician, and Lyon Playfair, first Baron Playfair, in 1838; W. C. Roscoe, poet and essayist, W. C. Williamson, naturalist, A. B. Garrod, to become a pioneer in chemical pathology, Isaac Todhunter, and J., later Sir John, Simon, sanitary reformer, in 1839; and Bunnell Lewis in 1840.[1] There entered for Austin's lectures between 1828 and 1830, John Stuart Mill, J. A. Roebuck, Edwin Chadwick, W. Eyton Tooke, John, afterwards Lord Romilly, and his two brothers, Edward and

[1] Register of Students, i, ff. 1, 2, 3, 10, 24, 27, 41, 45, 47, 51, 58, 66, 67, 74, 111, 179; ii, ff. 187, 242, 244, 278; iii, ff. 53, 74, 77, 83, 102, 122, 167; iv, ff. 43, 81, 82, 104; v, ff. 76, 81; vii, ff. 72, 85; viii, ff. 76, 110; ix, ff. 5, 14, 98; x, ff. 18, 29, 37, 62, 71, 78; xi, f. 68; *cf. D.N.B. s. vv.*; E. G. Sihler: *Sketch of the life of Dr. John William Draper* in *Universities and their Sons: New York University*, Boston, 1901; G. F. Barker: *Memoir of John William Draper*, 1811–1882. Read before the National Academy, April 21, 1886; W. H. Griffin and H. C. Minchin: *The Life of Robert Browning*, 1911, 48; R. Renton: *John Forster and his Friendships*, 1912, 9–12; *The Works of Gerald Griffin*, 8 v., 1843, i, 291–2; T. Gordon Hake: *Memoirs of Eighty Years*, 1892, 80; C. J. Riethmüller: *Frederick Lucas. A Biography*, 1862, 4–19; *Life and Letters of Sir Joseph Prestwich* . . . Written and edited by his wife, 1899, 20–4; *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* . . . South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, iii, 38–42; T. Wemyss Reid: *The Life, Letters, and Friendships of Richard Monckton Milnes, First Lord Houghton*, 2 v., 1890, i, 86; F. A. C. Hare: *William Farr* [n.d.]; E. I. Carlyle: *William Cobbett*, 1904, 298–300; C. D. Collet: *History of Taxes on Knowledge* . . . with an introduction by G. J. Holyoake, 2 v., 1899; for Maclise, *Notes*, 37–8, *D.N.B. s.v.* Richard Quain; for Jessel, J. Bryce: *Studies in Contemporary Biography*, c. vii; T. Wemyss Reid: *Memoirs and Correspondence of Lyon Playfair*, 1899, 42; *Poems and Essays by the late William Caldwell Roscoe*. Edited by R. H. Hutton, 2 v., 1860, i, pp. xvi–xviii; W. C. Williamson: *Reminiscences of a Yorkshire Naturalist*, 1896, 86–93; [Professor Mayor]: *In Memoriam: Isaac Todhunter*, Camb., 1884, 44; A. MacFarlane: *Lectures on Ten British Mathematicians of the Nineteenth Century*, 1916, 134–46.

Charles Romilly, G. J. Graham, James Booth, Edward Strutt, afterwards Lord Belper, J. W. Draper, C. P. Villiers, George Cornewall Lewis, and Charles Buller.[1] George Wilson attended Graham's classes in 1838, and David Livingstone was an occasional visitor.[2]

"I would fain pause awhile," wrote Riethmüller, thinking of the days when he and Lucas were at the university, "in that golden time of boyhood, and recall some of the scenes with which Frederick Lucas is indelibly associated in my memory—the long, long rambles through the crowded streets of London, where no noise of carriages, or jostling of passers by, could stop the current of his talk, and people would turn round to gaze on the frank, animated countenance, or listen to the ring of the loud, merry, inextinguishable burst of laughter—the gay encounters with hackney-coachmen, and porters, and all sorts of miscellaneous rabble, who were sure to find more than their match in those passages of wit that are technically called *chaff*—the expeditions into obscure lanes and alleys in search of some book-stall, where a coveted volume was to be met with—the excursions to Richmond, or Greenwich, or some other suburban retreat, and the pleasant summer afternoons spent under the shadow of old trees, or on the river's bank, with Shakespeare or Spenser for a companion, when the high animal spirits would subside into a gentle melancholy, and Lucas would discourse wisely and eloquently of the poets he loved so well—the patient watch for the opening of the play-house doors (young gentlemen were not above going to the *pit* in those days) and the eager rush to obtain front places, and witness the glories of a stage, on which Edmund Kean yet lingered, and Fanny Kemble had just made her first appearance."[3]

In 1836 came the first endowment for scholarships.

"*November 1st.*—A special meeting at the London University," wrote Crabb Robinson in his diary, "to receive from Lord Brougham a curious communication. An old lady, upwards of eighty, has announced her intention of giving £5,000 to the University. She declares her object to be the support of civil and religious liberty. She herself

[1] Register of Students, i, ff. 2, 11, 32, 44, 145, 164, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 185.

[2] *A Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen. Originally edited by Robert Chambers. Revised throughout and continued by the Rev. Thomas Thomson . . .* 3 v., 1875, iii, 539 a; W. G. Blaikie: *The Personal Life of David Livingstone*, 1880, 23.

[3] C. J. Riethmüller: *Frederick Lucas. A Biography*, 1862, 14–5.

is a Roman Catholic. Her name is Flaherty. Lord Brougham said, that having ascertained to his satisfaction that she was in the full possession of her faculties, and that she had no near relations having a moral claim on her, he felt no scruple in accepting the gift. He had learned also that she spent very little on herself, and devoted a handsome income mainly to acts of benevolence. *Rem.* [1852]. I heard afterwards that when she went to the Bank to transfer the stock, she went in a hackney coach, and was to return so or to walk, I forget which. On being remonstrated with for not being more attentive to her own comfort, she said she spent no money on herself, and hence it was that she was able now and then to help others." [1]

[1] *Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson.* Edited by Thomas Sadler, 3 v., 1869, iii, 100–1; *The Times*, 5 Nov., 1836, 5 e; *Ann. Rept.*, 1837, 7, 1838, 9–10, 1839, 40.

CHAPTER VI

EARLY QUARRELS

During the years 1830–31, the university was damaged in fortune and reputation by an involved and acrimonious dispute. Under the most favourable conditions, there must have been difficulty in adjusting the several parts of the institution to one another and the whole to the needs of the time. As it was, a defective constitution, a tactless Warden, an autocratic, peremptory, and parsimonious Council, and a vacillating policy nearly brought the venture to ruin.

The Deed of Settlement was mainly devised to secure the property and rights of proprietors and donors. Neither graduates nor professors were, as such, members of the university, and there were neither Faculties nor a *Senatus Academicus*. It has already been noticed that at the outset any right of collective action was expressly denied to the professors, and a proposal to create five faculties, emanating from the Education Committee, but not unanimously supported by the professors, was quashed by the Council, in May, 1829. The medical professors formed themselves into a faculty in the course of that summer, and secured the approval of their action, but the creation of faculties of Letters and of Science, proposed by James Loch, still failed to win acceptance in 1830.[1] Such a policy must have caused difficulty in the regulation of matters which affected all the professors in common, however reasonable those regulations had been. When they were regarded by the professors as unacceptable, there was no other means than revolt of making the Council feel the weight of their disapproval.

This defect in the constitution at once became manifest. The Council showed itself to be curiously inept in the

[1] Minutes, i, ff. 317, 342, 344; ii, ff. 4, 63–4, 109, 115.

THE MEDICAL STUDENT

Son of the scalpel! from whatever class
You grind instruction just enough to pass—
St. George's, Guy's, North London, or King's College,—
Thirsting alike for half-and-half and knowledge
Thou who must know so well, (all jibes apart,)
The true internal structure of the heart—
This heart—which you "a hollow muscle" call,
I offer thee—aorta, valves, and all.
Though to cheap hats and boots thy funds incline,
And light rough Chesterfields at one pound nine;
Though on the virtues of all plants thou'rt dumb,
Save the *Nicotiana Tabacum*,
(*Pentandria Digynia!*—Lindley—mum!)

Though thou eschew'st the hospital's dull gloom,
Except to chat in the house-surgeon's room,
And practically practise, in addition,
The "Physiology of Deglutition."
Yet much I love thee, and devoutly swear,
With lips that move controll'd by "the fifth pair,"
That I will ne'er know peace until our hands
Shall form a "ganglion" with Hymen's bands.
Then haste, my love, and let me call thee mine,
Precious and dear as sulphate of quinine,
Sparkling and bright as antimonial wine,
Sharp as the angles of a new trephine,
My reckless, noisy, fearnought VALENTINE!

From *Punch, or the London Charivari*, 1842, ii, 71.

government of men. It regarded the professors in the same light as any other of its employees, and all its employees with suspicion. It assumed that they would be actuated solely by self-interest, and so far was it from being sure of the coincidence of their interests with those of the university, that it was highly nervous lest they, and for that matter the students either, should sully its fair reputation by the publication in its name of their own uncensored opinions. Acting in this spirit, its legislation was tyrannical, and it more than once took up a position which proved to be untenable. It directed the Warden, in November, 1828, "to inform those Professors who have not published their Introductory lectures, that if they have any intention of doing so, it is the wish of the Council that their sanction should previously be given,"[1] was met with a blank refusal from eight of the professors, and hastened to explain that it had not meant what it had said.[2] In 1830, although in the event the matter was settled out of court, Auckland gave notice that he would call attention to "certain expressions made use of by Dr. Malkin on the subject of religion in his introductory lecture,"[3] and in September of that year, "Dr. Conolly was called in and informed that the Council were of opinion that he should this year deliver an Introductory Lecture: it was expected, he was told, that he would strictly confine himself to explaining the nature and method of the medical instruction communicated in the University."[4] In November, 1828, the Council laid down a rule that "no books shall be used for the purposes of teaching in the University which the Council may disapprove of."[5] From this position it was obliged to recede, but it continued to regulate minutely not only the number, length, and hours, but also the scope and content of the various courses, and in January, 1829, referred to the Education Committee for report "the expediency of establishing a system for the different classes being regularly visited by the Council and other persons to be nominated as visitors by the Council, that the Council may know whether an effective system of teaching be adopted

[1] Minutes, i, f. 233. [2] *Ibid.*, i, f. 236. [3] *Ibid.*, ii, ff. 46, 48.
[4] *Ibid.*, ii, f. 132. [5] *Ibid.*, i, f. 244.

by the different Professors, and whether the plans of instruction announced to the public are carried into effect."[1] However small the class, and however insufficient, therefore, the return upon the labour expended in the preparation of the course, the professor was still obliged to continue his lectures, while the Council was always ready to remind him that he must work hard, or to tell him that he must pay out of his own pocket the expenses for which he sought an allowance from the funds of the university. It was rebuked by Wilkins for expecting the production of a drawing of the university at a rate which amounted to eighteenpence a day,[2] and when the heating of one of the theatres proved to be unsatisfactory it told the contractor that he might make the alterations which he proposed and would be paid if he were successful.[3] But the height of its offending was a statement of conditions and obligations under which the professors and other teachers should hold their offices.[4] The professors were to be liable to dismissal by the Council at discretion, with a right of appeal within one month to a General Meeting of the Proprietors. Their work was to be regulated by the Council, which reserved the right of laying down plans in all that related to the general course of instruction or discipline. Besides claiming a censorship over books used in the classes it required that nothing should be published relating to the university without its sanction. Each professor was to provide a doorkeeper at his own charge, and such materials as he might need for his lectures. In case of illness he was to provide such a substitute as the Council might approve, and pay him out of his own pocket. At the same time he was precluded from accepting any fees either for himself or his assistant unless sanctioned by the Council, and that body reserved the right to appoint other persons at any time to lecture on his subject. The proposal of such conditions and obligations was met by a threat of resignation upon the part of a considerable number of the professors, the most objectionable of the regulations were withdrawn, and terms were agreed upon which gave to the professors

[1] Minutes, ii, f. 3.
[2] Corres., No. 219.
[3] Minutes, ii, f. 136.
[4] *Ibid.*, i, ff. 243–4.

reasonable security of tenure and protection against the appointment of rival teachers, and which regulated the division of the revenue derived from fees.[1] But the fact that such an episode occurred showed how little the professors and the Council understood one another and how difficult the regulation of their relations would be. And unhappily the Council chose for its emissary in the conduct of these relations a man singularly ill-fitted for the post.

As early as 1827 the Council had come to the determination that there must be a salaried officer to have constant superintendence of the affairs of the university under its own immediate direction,[2] and in May of that year offered to Leonard Horner[3] the post of secretary.[4] Born and educated in Edinburgh, and the elder brother of Francis Horner, Leonard Horner was intimate with many of those who had been most active in the foundation of the university, and in particular with Brougham, Bell, and Warburton. A partner in his father's business, he had lived in London from 1803 until 1815, where he took an active part in the foundation of the Geological Society and became acquainted with many men of scientific eminence, and where his brother's career and his own college friendships brought him into touch with the most active spirits among the Whigs. In 1815, after a brief experience as an underwriter at Lloyd's, he returned to Edinburgh on account of the decline of the family business, and there mixed with what he would have called "all the best people." He was an active Whig politician; he took the principal part, in 1821, in the foundation of a "School of Arts for the better Education of the Mechanics of Edinburgh, in such branches of physical science as are of practical advantage in their several trades," which has now become the Heriot-Watt College; and he had a considerable share in the foundation of the Edinburgh Academy, which was opened in 1824. Methodical, a man of

[1] S. E. De Morgan: *Memoir of Augustus De Morgan*, 1882, 29, 71; Minutes, i, ff. 282, 285, 312, 317, 321–2, 323–4, 327, 330–1, 335, 339–40.

[2] *Statement*, 16–7, 55–6.

[3] *D.N.B.; Bulletin*, v, 1927–8, 120–1.

[4] Minutes, i, f. 76.

"good manners, science, and whiggism,"[1] he was punctilious and a strict observer of the proprieties, with a great respect for "people of station and property." Cockburn thought him "one of the most useful citizens that Edinburgh ever possessed."[2]

From the start, Horner took an exalted view of his office. The Council proposed to him the acceptance of the post of secretary with, for the first year, a salary of £500 and an allowance of £200 for a house, to be increased, when the university opened, to a salary not exceeding £1,500 nor less than £1,000.[3] As to the title he replied, "while I do not object to the name *Secretary*, if the Council think that it is the most appropriate term, my understanding of the nature of the office is this: that as the organ of the Council, I am to possess that authority over the Professors & the various officers of the Establishment which is usually vested in the Principal or acting head of other Academical Institutions: that I am not to hold a subordinate situation or be under the controul or direction of an other power than the Council." As to the salary he said, "with so numerous a family as I have, I cannot live in a House in Gower Street in a very quiet way for less than £1400 per an," and he refused to accept less than £1,000 with a free house, or £1,200 without, for the first or any subsequent year of office, adding that even so he would be obliged to make up from his private fortune whatever was necessary "to uphold the respectability of the office."[4] His claims were conceded, and the style was changed to 'Warden.'[5] The concession cost the Council dearly. Horner had not held the office a month before Wilkins was up in arms against his interference with the clerk of the works.[6] When the university opened, by the

[1] *Memoir of Leonard Horner . . .* Edited by his daughter Katharine M. Lyell, 2 v., 1890, i, 196.

[2] H. Cockburn: *Life of Lord Jeffrey with a Selection from his Correspondence*, 2 v., 2nd ed., Edinburgh, 1852, i, 267.

[3] Minutes, i, f. 76.

[4] *Ibid.*, i, ff. 88–9; *cf. Memoir of Leonard Horner . . .* Edited by his daughter Katharine M. Lyell, 2 v., 1890, i, 233–4; L. Horner: *Letter to the Council of the University of London*, 1830, 41–4.

[5] Minutes, i, f. 96.

[6] Minutes, i, ff. 85–6, 116; Corres., No. 216, *cf.* No. 218.

manner of his dealing with the professors, by constant petty interference in their affairs, and by the reference of every trivial dispute to the Council, he soon made numerous and bitter enemies, and, while his pretensions were an offence to his colleagues, as the finances of the university grew to be embarrassed the salary which he had secured for himself became a not illegitimate grievance. The opinion of the professors is illustrated by the *Reminiscences* of Thomas Murray, who is there echoing the complaints of McCulloch. "When these learned teachers, who were making little or nothing by their professorial labours, saw an unlearned man like Leonard Horner, erstwhile a linen manufacturer in Edinburgh, . . . receive an income of £1200 yearly they could not but grumble. They grumbled the more when this person rode on the very top of his commission and exhibited the most inquisitorial interference with the discipline of the professors."[1]

The irritation caused by the suspicious and unsympathetic attitude of the Council towards the professors was thus aggravated by the character of the bearer of what must, at best, have been unwelcome messages. When, therefore, in 1830, the university found itself obliged to face difficulties of no ordinary kind, the machine was running badly and was not in a condition to bear any additional strain.

The quarrels which came to a head during the years 1830 and 1831 have a real importance in the history of the college, although that importance is obscured by a multitude of trivial personal disputes. They are, properly understood, growing pains of the infant institution. The central figure in the dispute is Pattison, the professor of Anatomy. The significance of the quarrel is the elimination of the chair which he held and of the kind of teaching which he gave, and the re-distribution of his functions between the departments of what afterwards came to be called physiology and descriptive anatomy.[2] But the scientific meaning is easily lost in the detail of personal animosities. While Bell was in the main actuated by his opinion of Pattison's incompetence

[1] T. Murray: *Autobiographical Notes, also Reminiscences of a Journey to London in* 1840. Edited . . . by J. A. Fairley, Dumfries, 1911, 86–7.

[2] *Cf.* table *supra*, p. 148.

and of the damage which was being done to the medical school, and by his appreciation of the work of Bennett, he was not unaffected by personal jealousy ; Bennett damaged a good cause by failing to conceal a bitterness bred of his realisation of the superior position and inferior capacity of his colleague ; and it was easy to account for the alliance of Horner with these two by his long-standing personal friendship with Bell. On the other hand, among the professors, detestation of Horner and the spirit of revolt engendered by the autocratic methods of the Council led several of the most influential to support Pattison as a martyr to arbitrary government, however professionally incompetent he might be ; while, in the Council, Birkbeck espoused the cause of Pattison out of personal enmity to Bell. The conflict thus became exceedingly complicated, and while infinite confusion was caused by partisanship and personal animosity, the discussion of the merits of Pattison and of the work which he was doing was further obscured by a quarrel about procedure, which greatly enlarged the matter originally in issue, so that a problem in the organisation of a single department grew to be a dispute about the constitution of the university.

The immediate cause of the dissensions within the university which became notorious in 1830 was discontent with the work of the professor of Anatomy. Already in the session 1828–9 there had twice been complaints of his inefficiency, but the complaints were anonymous and the Council had satisfied itself that they were not well founded.[1] The charges were revived in December, 1829. They were still anonymous. The Council appointed a committee of its members to investigate them, before whom Pattison was allowed to appear, and the committee reported in his favour,[2] while, to strengthen his defence, he obtained a report upon his conduct from his medical colleagues.[3] In March of 1830 serious charges were preferred in the *Lancet* against both him and the demonstrator in Anatomy, J. R. Bennett, but from these

[1] G. S. Pattison : *Professor Pattison's Statement of the Facts of his Connection with the University of London*, 1831, 4 ; Minutes, i, f. 368.

[2] G. S. Pattison, *op. cit.*, 11. [3] *Ibid.*, 12–3.

Bennett was fully vindicated by a letter numerously signed by his students.[1] In April, 1830, the discontent, which had thus been gradually increasing during the course of the last eighteen months, at length found an avowed exponent, and the Council received a letter signed N. Eisdell.[2] It took the resolution not to investigate charges against a professor on the representation of a single pupil. On the 20th of May it received a letter signed by seventeen students supporting the charges made against Pattison by Eisdell.[3]

The complaint preferred against Pattison was that he neglected his work, and that when he performed it the performance was incompetent. It is said that he used to appear in his lecture-room in his pink coat and riding-boots,[4] and it was alleged that his lectures were perfunctory, and that he neglected his duties in the dissecting-room and at the dispensary.[5] Complaint was made that he displayed a want of science which was evident in frequent errors in statement and a palpable ignorance of medical Latin, that his teaching was superficial and consisted in little more than could be found in Fyfe's compendium, and that he "neglected the physiological linking of anatomical facts, . . . omitted to allude to regional, functional, developemental, comparative and morbid anatomy," and offered but a dry detail which any student could more successfully and infinitely more accurately acquire for himself in the dissecting-room. In short, the memorial of the students stated, "We charge him with *unusual ignorance* of old notions, and *total*

[1] *Lancet, MDCCCXXIX–XXX*, i, 897–8, 931.

[2] Minutes, ii, ff. 71, 76–7; *To Lord Brougham, and through him to the Professors of the London University, Reasons why the Expulsion of Alexander Thomson, M.B. from the London University, should be reconsidered . . .*, Paris, 1831, 76–7.

[3] L. Horner: *Letter to the Council of the University of London*, 1830, 13–4; *London Medical and Surgical Journal*, v, 443–8 (1 Nov., 1830); Minutes, ii, ff. 78–9; *cf. To Lord Brougham . . . Reasons why the Expulsion of Alexander Thomson, M.B. . . . should be reconsidered . . .*, Paris, 1831, 17–8, 23–4, 66–8.

[4] *Notes*, 123.

[5] *London Medical and Surgical Journal*, v, 445, 446 (1 Nov., 1830); *To Lord Brougham . . . Reasons why the Expulsion of Alexander Thomson, M.B. . . . should be reconsidered . . .*, Paris, 1831, 30; *cf. Lancet, MDCCCXXX–XXXI*, ii, 733–4 (3 Sept., 1831), 745, 747, 763 (10 Sept., 1831).

ignorance of and *disgusting indifference* to new anatomical views and researches . . . he is ignorant, or, if not ignorant, indolent, careless, and slovenly, and, above all, indifferent to the interests of the science."[1] The root of the trouble, personalities apart, is succinctly described by Pattison himself. "I am complained of, I am told, because I do not teach 'French anatomy.' This is a new phrase; and I would ask, in the name of common sense, what is meant by it? If by 'French anatomy' I am to understand the '*idle, extravagant, unintelligible theories misnamed Anatomica*,' . . .—I admit I do not teach it. . . . I teach anatomy for the purpose of educating useful medical practitioners."[2]

Unfortunately the solution of a problem in medical education was embarrassed, not only by the difficulties normally inherent in the removal of an inefficient and out-of-date professor, but also by the fact that Pattison was an unusually suspicious and quarrelsome person, and that the university was already torn by dissensions which had their roots in quite other quarrels.

From the outset Pattison had been jealous of J. R. Bennett, the demonstrator in Anatomy. He resented, as a departure from the normal course and a slight put upon himself, the appointment of a demonstrator who was to be wholly independent of the professor, and he soon found that he suffered in the loss not only of reputation but of income. Instead of receiving the fees as well for the use of the dissecting-rooms as for attendance at his lectures, and paying the demonstrator himself as his assistant, he found the demonstrator delivering, for a single fee, a regular course of lectures on anatomy in addition to the instruction which he gave in the dissecting-rooms, and thus, upon a mere financial calculation, threatening to empty the professor's theatre.[3] And the situation thus created became intolerable when Bennett proved himself to be by far the more competent

[1] *London Medical and Surgical Journal*, v, 443–8 (1 Nov., 1830).

[2] *Statements respecting the University of London prepared, at the Desire of the Council, by Nine of the Professors*, 1830, 20.

[3] G. S. Pattison: *Professor Pattison's Statement of the Facts of his Connection with the University of London*, 1831, 4, 5–7 n.

and popular teacher, and came to feel a contempt for Pattison as an anatomist which he was at no pains to conceal. The rivalry came to a head at the end of the first session.[1] At the distribution of prizes to the medical students in 1829, Bennett allowed himself to give open expression to his contempt for the ignorance of his colleague, and the story of his indecorous behaviour was widely circulated.[2]

Instead of being content to see in this the evidence of a defect in the constitution of the medical department and a lack of discretion upon the part of Bennett, Pattison detected a plot, in which the arch-villain was Horner. The independent position of the demonstrator he believed to be due originally to Horner.[3] It was Horner whom he held responsible for the proposal in August, 1829, to remove him to the chair of Surgery and appoint Bell in his stead as professor of Anatomy.[4] While Horner was away during the autumn of 1829 everything went smoothly; on his return the complaints of the students were renewed.[5] To Horner was due the failure of the Council in December, 1829, to make reparation to him when his conduct had been vindicated.[6] And it was Horner whom he saw behind Eisdell.[7] It was an interpretation which brought to the support of Pattison many of his colleagues, who might upon the real merits of the case have taken a different view, for by the beginning of 1830 Horner was bitterly disliked by a considerable part of the professoriate.

As in the case of Pattison, so in that of the professors, a

[1] Minutes, i, ff. 349–50, 351, 356, 362, 363, 377.

[2] G. S. Pattison: *Professor Pattison's Statement of the Facts of his Connection with the University of London*, 1831, 4–10, 7–8 n.; *Statements respecting the University of London prepared, at the Desire of the Council, by Nine of the Professors*, 1830, 6–9.

[3] *Statements respecting the University . . .*, 1830, 4–5: *cf.* L. Horner: *Letter to the Council of the University of London*, 1830, 4.

[4] G. S. Pattison: *Professor Pattison's Statement . . .*, 1831, 10; *Observations on a Letter addressed by Leonard Horner, Esq., to the Council of the University*, 1830, 6–14; *cf.* L. Horner: *Letter . . .*, 1830, 5–11.

[5] G. S. Pattison, *op. cit.*, 11.

[6] *Ibid.*, 13.

[7] *Ibid.*, 14–6; *Observations . . .*, 1830, 3–6; *cf.* L. Horner: *Letter . . .*, 1830, 13–22.

problem of real importance lay behind the host of trivial personalities which obscured it. Under the constitution of the university the professors had no more part in its government than the housekeeper or the curator of the anatomical museum, and their position was made still worse by the interposition of the Warden between them and their autocratic rulers, the Council. But sight of the constitutional problem was almost completely lost. Horner appeared to the professors as an intriguer for petty power, and their grievances appear as trivial in the recital as they must have been irritating in the event. He had, without notice to the professors, set the beadles to keep a record of the attendance at their classes that he might report it to the Council,[1] he interfered with the purchase of apparatus out of grants made by that body,[2] he stood between the professors and the Council and forwarded or withheld their communications at his discretion,[3] and he had exceeded the duties of his office and assumed, without the warrant of any literary or scientific prominence, the position of literary head of the university.[4] In March, 1830, eleven of the professors protested against the idea entertained by the Warden of the nature and extent of his powers, but got no satisfaction.[5] He set the cap upon these offences by an anonymous contribution to a newspaper controversy in April, 1830.

In that year the financial difficulties of the university began to become urgent, and it was known that the Council had in mind the early termination of the system of guaranteed salaries and reversion to payment by results. In response the professors formulated an alternative scheme of retrenchment, which included the elimination of the office of Warden. In March, five of them formulated their plan in a letter

[1] *Statements respecting the University* . . ., 1830, 42; L. Horner: *Letter* . . ., 1830, 40–1; *Observations* . . ., 1830, 23, 26–8.

[2] *Observations* . . ., 1830, 20; L. Horner: *Letter* . . ., 1830, 46–7.

[3] *Statements respecting the University* . . ., 1830, 9–10, 24, 40, 45; *Observations* . . ., 1830, 14–5, 17–8, 24, 27–8; *cf.* L. Horner: *Letter* . . ., 1830, 11–2, 25–8, 39.

[4] *Statements respecting the University* . . ., 1830, 36, 44; *Observations* . . ., 1830, 21–3; *cf.* L. Horner: *Letter* . . ., 1830, 35–8, 41–9.

[5] L. Horner: *Letter* . . ., 1830, 36–8.

addressed to the shareholders and Council.[1] This they printed, but did not publish, yet the substance of their proposals appeared anonymously in the press,[2] and the articles which contained them were answered by contributions, also anonymous, from the Warden.[3] Others of the professors complained to the Council of these proceedings, and that body expressed its disapproval of such communications by either the professors or its officers.[4] But on the 21st of April there appeared in the *Sun* a report of the emptiness of many of the lecture-rooms and of the decision of the Council to make reductions in the guarantees accorded to some of those professors who had proved least successful,[5] and an explanation in reply to this was contributed the next day by a writer, who, as it afterwards transpired, was the Warden. In the course of his remarks Horner committed a grave error. The university will be a success, he said, "if every Professor will labour earnestly in his particular calling to establish a reputation with the public for profound knowledge of his subject, and for assiduity and skill as a teacher. By so doing the Professors will be following the most certain course for securing an ample pecuniary reward for their labour. But most of them must bear in mind, that the reputation has yet to be earned—that they have hitherto no right to expect more from the public than a disposition to believe that the fact of their appointment is a pledge that they are accomplished men, and capable of being excellent teachers—they must redeem the pledge, and the sooner that is done, the more rapidly will their emoluments be increased."[6] It was not to be expected, when a scholar like Rosen was receiving a salary of £150 a year, and a man with the attainments of

[1] *A letter to the shareholders and Council of the University of London on the present state of that institution*, 1830; *cf.* Minutes, ii, ff. 187, 192; *Atlas*, v, 201–2 (28 March, 1830).

[2] *Cf. Spectator*, iii, 100, 134, 140 (13, 28 Feb., 1830); *Atlas*, v, 154 a (7 March, 1830).

[3] Horner to the Editor of *The Spectator*, 14 Feb., 1830 [Transcript in the college library]; *Spectator*, iii, 116 (20 Feb., 1830).

[4] Minutes, ii, ff. 44–5.

[5] *Sun*, 21 April, 1830, 4 d; *cf.* 27 April, 1830, 3 c.

[6] *Ibid.*, 22 April, 1830, 4 d; *cf.* L. Horner: *Letter . . .*, 1830, 30–1.

McCulloch got no more than £400, that such a rebuke from an official of no scholastic reputation, who was drawing £1,200 a year from the impoverished chest of the university, should be borne with patience. Pattison had no need to seek for partisans.

This troublesome situation the Council grievously mishandled. The conflict between the Warden and the professors was allowed to become an open war of pamphlets and newspaper paragraphs, and the professors were denied satisfaction. In the medical school the Council failed either to allay discontent or to rehabilitate the reputation of the professor of Anatomy, and only after twelve more months of continually increasing disorder was Pattison finally dismissed, and then at the cost of the resignation of some of the most valuable of his colleagues.

On the 18th of May, 1830, nine of the professors sent a document to the Council requesting an interview, and stating that they were prepared to explain the causes of the evils which existed in the university and to assign the remedies.[1] Their action marks the date when the defence of Pattison becomes confused with the attack on Horner. The interview with the Council took place two days later. The professors agreed to reduce their statements to writing. On the 1st of June, Horner circulated a printed reply among the proprietors.[2] The professors responded by the circulation of their *Statements* and of an answer to Horner's *Letter*.[3] Upon the 5th of June, six professors who were opposed to the acts of the nine addressed a letter of remonstrance to the Council against the proceedings of their colleagues.[4] On the 8th, the Council adopted a series of resolutions, vindicating the Warden, save in respect of his anonymous letter to the *Sun*, and rebuking the professors.[5] The resolutions amounted

[1] *Statements respecting the University . . .*, 1830, 3.

[2] L. Horner: *Letter to the Council of the University of London*, 1830.

[3] *Observations on a Letter addressed by Leonard Horner, Esq., to the Council of the University*, 1830; *cf. Statements respecting the University . . .*, 1830, i; L. Horner: *Letter . . .*, 1830, 50.

[4] L. Horner: *Letter . . .*, 1830, 49–50.

[5] *Statements respecting the University . . .*, 1830, ii–iii.

to little more than a statement that the Council had entire confidence in the diligence, fidelity, honour, and capacity of the Warden, and that the professors should endeavour to appreciate their good fortune and show a better temper among themselves and a greater deference to their superiors, and they really settled nothing. The Council consequently received a requisition from twenty-four proprietors that a special general meeting should be held on the 26th of June,—postponed to the 3rd of July on account of the death of the King—

"to take into consideration the propriety of appointing a Committee of Proprietors to consider the state of the University as regards the differences existing between the Council and the professors; the duties of the office of Warden; the salary attached to that office; & the general financial state of the University." [1]

At the meeting, the appointment of such a committee was proposed by Althorp, seconded by Auckland, and supported by Brougham, Birkbeck, Hume, and Warburton. "The Morning Papers," Brougham urged, "had teemed with crimination and recrimination between the Warden and the Professors," and the proprietors must take notice of it. But the general impression was that there had been faults on all sides and that the safest thing was to support the Council, and by a vote of 94 to 60 the Council's resolutions of the 8th June were substituted, by way of amendment, for the original motion.[2] Mill, though he had little sympathy with the professors, hoped that Horner would retire. "The Warden," he wrote to Macvey Napier, "(though personally far more sinned against than sinning) is the grand source of difficulty; for in the state of hostile feeling among them it is vain to expect that the machine will work well—and there is the less hope of it, that it is the rooted opinion of the Warden, that there is but one cure for the evil, and that is, giving plenty of power to him."[3] But Horner's resignation was not to come yet.

[1] Minutes, ii, f. 98; Corres., No. 1796; *The Times*, 28 June, 1830, 4 b.

[2] *The Morning Chronicle*, 5 July, 1830, 3 b–c; *The Times*, 5 July, 1830, 3 c–d; *London Medical Gazette*, vi, 572 (10 July, 1830).

[3] A. Bain: *James Mill, A Biography*, 1882, 353–4.

Meanwhile the result of the investigation of the charges against Pattison was no more satisfactory. On the 29th of June the Council appointed a committee consisting of the Duke of Somerset, Lord Sandon, Hallam, and Baring to investigate the charges preferred by the students.[1] Their enquiries were protracted, and lasted beyond the time when most of the students had gone down. These, therefore, left their interests in the charge of a senior member of their body, Alexander Thomson, son of Anthony Todd Thomson, the professor of Materia Medica. "They waited upon me in a body," Thomson recorded, "and requested me . . . to watch for them the progress of the business, to give them early information of whatever might be doing, and to insist, by every honourable and upright means, on the division of the Professorship of Anatomy, or on the entire removal of the present Professor. To aid me in this respect, they left with me the statements of the reasons of their objections, with a request to send them in, as soon as called for by the Council."[2] This office Thomson fulfilled. The committee then examined such of the students as were still within reach, of whom there were four, including Eisdell, and heard Pattison in his own defence, and upon this basis made their report.[3] That report, Thomson alleged, was unfavourable to Pattison, but the reprimand which should have followed upon it was forestalled by the proposal by Pattison that he should divide his labours with Bennett.[4] Such a division was approved at a meeting on the 2nd of August, and Pattison was acquitted of the charges made against him.[5] On the 7th of September his position was further strengthened by his appointment to the chair of Surgery in succession to Bell.[6]

[1] Minutes, ii, f. 103.

[2] *To Lord Brougham, and through him to the Professors of the London University, Reasons why the Expulsion of Alexander Thomson, M.B. from the London University, should be reconsidered* . . . , Paris, 1831, 71 ; *cf.* 15–6.

[3] *Ibid.*, 72 ; Minutes, ii, ff. 97, 104, 120.

[4] *To Lord Brougham . . . Reasons why the Expulsion of Alexander Thomson, M.B. . . . should be reconsidered* . . . , Paris, 1831, 72.

[5] Minutes, ii, ff. 125–8 ; *cf.* f. 137.

[6] *Ibid.*, ii, f. 138.

But before this appointment a new complication had arisen. On the 2nd of August, Thomson, in touch with Bennett, and believing that the negotiations with Pattison had broken down, wrote a further 'Memorial of those students of the University of London, who wish for the Dismissal of Professor Pattison,' taking upon himself to compose and sign it on behalf of the memorialists with the concurrence of Eisdell and two others,[1] and at the same time published an attack upon Pattison in the *Lancet*,[2] and sought still further to damage his reputation by putting into circulation a pamphlet published in Philadelphia in 1820, in which, after the recital of a very damaging story, Pattison is plausibly described as "an adventurer with a tainted reputation."[3] On the 5th of August, the Council Minutes report, "Mr. Hogg the Secretary to the University Dispensary where Mr. Thomson is residing, was called in & stated certain facts indicative of the state of Mr. Thomson's health & tending to relieve the students on whose behalf he professes to act of any share in this proceeding. The Clerk was directed to concert with Dr. Thomson some plan whereby Mr.

[1] *To Lord Brougham . . . Reasons why the Expulsion of Alexander Thomson, M.B. . . . should be reconsidered . . .*, Paris, 1831, 79–84; Corres., No. 1933; *cf. Lancet, MDCCCXXIX–XXX*, ii, 847–8 (21 Aug., 1830); *London Medical and Surgical Journal*, v, 435–56 (1 Nov., 1830); *London Medical Gazette*, vii, 246–7, 252–3 (20 Nov., 1830).

[2] *Lancet, MDCCCXXIX–XXX*, ii, 623–4 (17 July, 1830); *cf.* Minutes, ii, f. 129.

[3] *Correspondence between Mr. Granville Sharp Pattison and Dr. N. Chapman*, Philadelphia, 1820; *Lancet, MDCCCXXIX–XXX*, ii, 740–5, 794 (7, 14 Aug., 1830); *cf.* G. S. Pattison: *A Refutation of certain Calumnies published in a Pamphlet entitled "Correspondence between Mr. Granville Sharp Pattison and Dr. Nathaniel Chapman,"* Baltimore, 1820; W. Gibson: *Strictures on Mr. Pattison's Reply to certain Oral and Written Criticisms*, Philadelphia, 1820; G. S. Pattison: *An Answer to a Pamphlet entitled "Strictures on Mr. Pattison's reply to certain Oral and Written Criticisms, by W. Gibson," M.D. Professor of Surgery in the University of Pennsylvania*, Baltimore, 1820; G. S. Pattison: *A Final Reply to the Numerous Slanders, circulated by Nathaniel Chapman MD . . .*, Baltimore, 1821; *Lancet, MDCCCXXIX–XXX*, ii, 974–5 (13 Sept., 1830), *MDCCCXXX–XXXI*, ii, 694–5 (27 Aug., 1831), 793–5 (17 Sept., 1831); *To Lord Brougham, and through him to the Professors of the London University, Reasons why the Expulsion of Alexander Thomson, M.B. from the London University, should be reconsidered . . .*, Paris, 1831, 13, 28, 40, 59, 75.

Alex^r. Thomson should be prevented from interfering with the affairs of the University or with the students,"[1] and, in consequence, the porter was directed to refuse him admission,[2] and he was dismissed from the dispensary.[3]

The retort made by Thomson upon the Council, though blasphemous and a little extravagant, was not altogether unprovoked.

"They had learned in their youth, and believed in their age, because they had been TOLD in their youth, that attainments, that GOOD works, however splendid, are utterly worthless, without FAITH, without faith in the excellence of all the professors, whom they choose, and appoint, though it be but by the casting vote of the Chairman of one of their committees. Of Mr. Pattison they said, this is *our chosen*; Him have we given power over Surgery, as well as over Anatomy, that, if ye believe in his powers, ye may be cherished by us as *obedient children*, that by so believing ye may blot out your ORIGINAL SIN; but, if ye believe not, ye shall be condemned, and cast out not only from the class-room of our well beloved, but even into the utter darkness and ignorance of Anatomy and Surgery, that reigns without the walls of the University."[4]

When the session of 1830–31 began in October none of the parties to the disputes had really been satisfied. Pattison had still to suffer the competition of Bennett. Bell, although he retained the chair of Physiology, had resigned that of Surgery, and was still very discontented with the state of the medical school. And neither the students nor the professors were appeased by the resolutions of the Council. To these discontents the outraged feelings of Alexander Thomson afforded a spur.

At the beginning of the autumn term Horner permitted Thomson to come to see him,—when the latter took the opportunity to address the medical students,—and then gave him leave to harangue an assembly of the students in

[1] Minutes, ii, ff. 131–2; *cf.* Corres., No. 1881.

[2] *To Lord Brougham . . . Reasons why the Expulsion of Alexander Thomson, M.B. . . . should be reconsidered . . .*, Paris, 1831, 6.

[3] G. S. Pattison: *Professor Pattison's Statement . . .*, 1831, 17.

[4] *To Lord Brougham . . . Reasons why the Expulsion of Alexander Thomson, M.B. . . . should be reconsidered . . .*, Paris, 1831, 25.

what we now call the George Thane Theatre upon the incompetence of their professor, Eisdell only leaving the chair to permit Pattison himself to deliver his afternoon lecture. The Warden's action was repudiated by the Council, and Thomson's expulsion was confirmed. But the university was already in an uproar. The dissecting-rooms and the cloisters became the scene of a campaign, led by Eisdell and Bree, for the discredit and eviction of a professor who had sought to silence criticism by procuring the expulsion of his critic. Pattison's lectures were irregularly attended, some who were there became disorderly, and tri-coloured papers, inscribed "THOMSON AND LIBERTY," were handed about.[1]

Somehow or other Pattison managed to get through the first term in face of the opposition. In February, 1831, matters grew worse. On the 5th a meeting was held by the students for the purpose of preparing a fresh memorial to the Council.[2] They received, Pattison alleged, the covert support of the Warden. A second meeting was held at the University Tavern, and additional signatures to the memorial were obtained. Pattison replied by the adoption of disciplinary measures. He required that those who attended his lectures should come into the body of the theatre and prohibited the use of the upper benches; he called the roll daily, and he insisted that those who wished to obtain his certificate should submit to regular weekly examinations. Discontent became rebellion, and he found himself set at defiance. The offending students refused to leave the back benches. Afraid to call in the beadles, who were also constables, as he had been directed to do, Pattison contented himself with reporting the offenders to the Council. They were suspended from attendance at his class, and the beadles were assembled to prevent a forcible entry. Readmitted, after making apology to Horner, they were again defiant. An individual, appropriately called Mr. Peart, told Pattison that he was no gentleman, told the class that he had told him so, and served a writ upon him to force the grant of a certificate. A

[1] G. S. Pattison: *Professor Pattison's Statement . . .*, 1831, 18–9; *London Medical Gazette*, vii, 117–8 (23 Oct., 1830).

[2] Minutes, ii, f. 208.

committee of the students was formed, which met regularly and decided when Pattison should, and when he should not, be allowed to lecture, and confusion was worse confounded by his support by a party among the students and by the congregation of members of the General Department to see a professor baited. The rebels shouted him down, while his partisans shouted him up, the Warden, who intervened, failed to make himself heard, and Lord King, Macaulay, and Sturch, appearing as representatives of the Council, fared little better. For over a month it was impossible to lecture. The scenes in the anatomy theatre reminded a contemporary reporter of Covent Garden during the O.P. riots.[1]

Upon the receipt of the memorial from the students the Council appointed a committee, consisting of Lord King, W. Marshall, Sturch, Macaulay, and Merivale, to examine the charges which it contained. At the end of three weeks they made an inconclusive but damaging report, and Thomas Wilson, taking his cue from them, gave notice, to the surprise and alarm of some of his colleagues, that he would move that it be recommended to Professor Pattison to retire.[2]

But the quarrel was much too complicated to be susceptible of cure by so simple a remedy. The renewal of the attack upon Pattison revived the animosity against Horner and reopened the question of constitutional reform, and the proprietors again entered into competition with the Council in the effort to appease the conflict.

In February, 1831, Pattison at last openly charged Horner before the Council with complicity in the cabal which had been got up against him, and on the 26th Horner was again attacked by Birkbeck, whose action a year before had been so hostile and offensive, and had placed him in so degraded a position before the Council, as to lead him to threaten resignation. Thenceforth, until the 12th of March, he ceased to attend the meetings of the Council, and on that day communicated his intention to retire. Having waited until

[1] G. S. Pattison: *Professor Pattison's Statement . . .*, 1831, 18–26; *London Medical Gazette*, vii, 632 (12 Feb., 1831); *Lancet*, *MDCCCXXX–XXXI*, i, 749–53, 815–8, ii, 15–8.

[2] Minutes, ii, ff. 234, 239, 270–1.

he had received, and replied to, the specific charges preferred by Pattison, he resigned, on the 26th of March, as from the end of the session,[1] "fairly scared and worn out," as Bell described him, "by vexation and injustice,"[2] to win in after-years a distinguished and honourable place in the history of factory legislation. But his resignation not only created a vacancy in the office; it afforded an opportunity to the advocates of constitutional reform. It yet remained to be determined whether the removal of the officer should be followed by the abolition of the office; and on the 27th of April, Hallam, Birkbeck, Romilly, Merivale, Mill, Lord King, and Marshall, were appointed a committee to consider the future management of the university.[3]

Meanwhile, the proposal to remove Pattison had already called forth a memorial signed by De Morgan, Key, Long, Lardner, McCulloch, and Rosen, and supported by a letter from Conolly, who had already resigned, protesting that the action of the Council was not only unjust to Pattison, but a threat to each of his colleagues,[4] and hinting that they would resign if it were persisted in; and at the same time ample opportunity was given for the conflict to spread, since the removal of a professor by the Council required a vote of three-fourths of the members present, the majority being not less than thirteen, so that Wilson's motion was postponed from week to week for lack of a quorum.[5]

Thus the way was opened to the renewed intervention of the proprietors. While the Council hesitated to act upon the report of the committee which it had appointed to enquire into the charges against Pattison, and before the new committee appointed to consider the future management of the university had made its report, a requisition was received for a general meeting of proprietors to consider the appointment of a committee of their own to enquire into the past and present state of the affairs of the university. They

[1] Minutes, ii, ff. 213, 220–1, 222–3, 244–6, 258–9; Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 29,475, ff. 75–6; *The Times*, 13 Apr., 1831, 3 c.

[2] *Letters of Sir Charles Bell*, 1870, 317.

[3] Minutes, ii, f. 266.

[4] G. S. Pattison: *Professor Pattison's Statement . . .*, 1831, 31–5.

[5] Minutes, i, f. 327.

met on the 2nd of July. The meeting was "by no means numerous." Greenough took the chair. The appointment of the committee was moved by the Rev. J. Yates. He said that during the last eighteen months a universal sentiment of disappointment and dissatisfaction had sprung up in the minds of the proprietors, the medical school was quite disorganised, and there was great discontent among the professors, who "had been compelled to submit to such a series of insults and persecutions from the Council, that they felt at once disgust, despondency, and despair, and . . . cared not if their connection with the University was immediately dissolved." All this he attributed to the faulty constitution of the Council. Its members were too many and their attendance too irregular. Its acts, in consequence, were isolated, unconnected, and often contradictory. It had been dilatory in forming regulations for the discipline of the university, in dealing with the professors it had acted upon bye-laws which had never received the sanction of the proprietors, and it had shown itself to be financially incompetent. The lack of discipline, in particular, was notorious, and "the rev. gentleman, who had dilated with very unnecessary prolixity on the different points of which we have given an abstract, was proceeding to enforce this latter point at some length, when he was called to order by a Proprietor." He was supported by Warburton, and opposed by Tooke. At that juncture Robert Owen intervened. "Mr. Owen objected in general to the arrangements of the institution. He contended at great length and amidst the most provoking interruptions, that the most useful species of knowledge was not taught there. The most useful knowledge to teach the rising generation was, how the mass of public misery could be remedied. The worthy gentleman was going into an explanation of his peculiar theory of society, when he was met by a loud and pitiless storm of hisses, which he bore with the equanimity of a stoic." Hume intervened. Owen persisted but, "finding the reluctance of the meeting to listen to his speculative opinions on mankind insuperable, at length sat down," and the select committee was appointed.[1]

[1] *The Times*, 4 July, 1831, 3 c–e, 5 July, 1831, 3 f.

Its report was received at a further general meeting on the 23rd of July. Its principal features were a recommendation that measures should be taken to procure the retirement of Professor Pattison from the university, and that the chief management of the university should be vested in a committee of five members of the Council.[1] A minority report, which was subsequently published, was prepared by James Yates.[2]

Upon the same day the Council acted upon the report of its own committee.

"The Council, in concurrence with the suggestion contained in the report of the Select Committee of this Council, of the 18th of June, 1831, 'that the popularity and efficiency of the Medical School have received a shock by the disturbances which have prevailed in it, and which can only be obviated by the retirement of Professor Pattison from the Chairs of Anatomy and Surgery'; and deeming it, therefore, essential to the well-being of the University and the success of the Medical School, that Professor Pattison should not any longer continue to occupy those Chairs;—

Resolved,—That Professor Pattison be, and he is hereby removed from his situations of Professor of Anatomy and Surgery in this University.

Resolved,—That, in taking this step, the Council feel it due to Professor Pattison to state, that nothing which has come to their knowledge with respect to his conduct has in any way tended to impeach either his general character or his professional skill and knowledge."[3]

As the chairman, Lord Ebrington, naively explained on another occasion,

"In the University there was no power over the Students, and therefore the Professors must be popular or the University could not flourish. It had been proved to the Council that Professor Pattison was not popular, and therefore the Council thought it was only discharging its duty to the Institution and the public in dismissing Professor Pattison."[4]

De Morgan at once resigned,[5] to be followed by Long and Rosen.[6] A protest was issued against the conclusions

[1] *The Times*, 25 July, 1831, 3 d.

[2] J. Yates: *Outlines of a Constitution for the "University of London,"* 1832.

[3] Minutes, ii, f. 308.

[4] *The Morning Chronicle*, 22 Aug., 1831, 3 d.

[5] S. E. De Morgan: *Memoir of Augustus De Morgan*, 1882, 33–40, 71–3.

[6] Corres., Nos. 2108, 2129, 2152.

of his colleagues by one of the members of the select committee appointed by the proprietors.[1] A requisition was received for a general meeting of proprietors to take the matter into consideration.[2] Pattison published a forty-three page *Statement* of his case.[3] Turner and A. T. Thomson issued a pamphlet in answer to charges made in it against themselves,[4] and Pattison replied to their answer in the *Lancet*.[5] The public press was filled with the clamour of the dispute. *The Morning Chronicle* made itself in particular the champion of Pattison.[6] And the amenities of an academic squabble were exposed for the edification of laymen.

The proprietors met upon the 20th of August, and adjourned *sine die* after much disorderly argument,[7] but under the Deed of Settlement Pattison himself could still appeal on his own behalf from the Council to the proprietors, and there was a further meeting on the 3rd of September, when a final effort was made to reverse the decision. Pattison addressed the proprietors in a speech of nearly three hours. The proceedings were very disorderly and irregular, but the action of the Council was upheld.[8] In the end, Pattison received a grant of £200 [9] and returned to the United States.

Although Pattison and Horner had been removed, the constitution had yet to be reformed. In August, 1831, the Council appointed a committee of seven of its members to conduct the ordinary business of the university, and itself thenceforth met only on extraordinary occasions, or at monthly intervals to confirm the proceedings of its committee.[10] The

[1] G. S. Pattison: *Professor Pattison's Statement . . .*, 1831, 39; *The Morning Chronicle*, 25 July, 1831, 3 c.

[2] Minutes, ii, ff. 314–5.

[3] G. S. Pattison: *Professor Pattison's Statement of the Facts of his Connection with the University of London*, 1831.

[4] E. Turner and A. T. Thomson: *Two Letters to the Proprietors of the University of London, in reply to some remarks in Mr. Pattison's Statement*, 1831.

[5] *Lancet, MDCCCXXX–XXXI*, ii, 825–9, *MDCCCXXXI–XXXII*, i, 82–7.

[6] *The Morning Chronicle*, 25 July, 1831, 2 c–d, 18 Aug., 1831, 3 a, 22 Aug., 1831, 3 a.

[7] *Ibid.*, 22 Aug., 1831, 3 d.

[8] *Ibid.*, 5 Sept., 1831, 2 a, 14 Sept., 1831, 3 c–d.

[9] *Ann. Rept.*, 1832, 3–4.

[10] Minutes, ii, ff. 320, 350; *Ann. Rept.*, 1832, 4.

whole subject of future management was referred by the Council to this body in November.[1] The proposal of the committee was to regularise its own position and place the effective government of the university in itself. The plan was approved by the Council on the 4th of February, 1832,[2] and endorsed by the proprietors on the 29th, when various amendments were made in the bye-laws which governed the tenure and powers of the professors, and it was resolved that it was expedient to establish a *Senatus Academicus* and that it be referred to the Council, in concurrence with the professors, to consider a plan for that purpose.[3] Such a plan was adopted by the Council on the 23rd of June,[4] and confirmed by the proprietors in August. The office of Warden was abolished. To do the work for which the university had paid Horner £1,200 a year the Council employed a secretary at a salary of £200. The post was first held by Thomas Coates, a solicitor trained in Tooke's office who had become secretary to the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge and had acted as clerk to the university in succession to Cox since December, 1828. He resigned in 1835, having quarrelled with the Council over a matter of £62 odd in his bill of costs for the proceedings before the Privy Council in connection with the petition for a charter of incorporation, and was succeeded by C. C. Atkinson.[5]

By these reforms some of the more serious defects in the constitution were remedied. The substitution of a committee of management for the full Council eliminated those violent fluctuations in policy which arose from the irregular appearance on critical occasions of members who were normally absent.[6] The provision which gave to the Senate a member of the Council for its president helped to dispel that mutual ignorance of rulers and ruled, which goes so far to explain

[1] Minutes, ii, f. 327.

[2] *Ibid.*, ii, ff. 329, 331, 333–4, 335–8, 342–3 ; *University of London. Proposed Plan for Future Management*, 4 Feb., 1832.

[3] *Ann. Rept.*, 1832, 6, 12, 13–6, 1833, 5–6.

[4] Minutes, ii, ff. 361, 364–8.

[5] *Ann. Rept.*, 1833, 4–5, 1835, 5, 1836, 9 ; Minutes, i, f. 253, ii, ff. 469–70.

[6] *Cf.* Attendances at Council and Committees, 1828–1831, Corres., No. 2104.

the failures of 1828–31. The establishment of a Senate gave to the professors a share in the government of the university, and was accompanied by the organisation of the faculties of Arts, Laws, and Medicine. In the plan adopted in June, 1832, these were to be three,[1] and for two years this division was maintained,[2] but in and after the session 1833–4 the separate Faculty of Laws was absorbed by that of Arts.[3]

The changes made in 1832 were embodied in the new bye-laws substituted in May, 1842, for the provisions of the original Deed of Settlement after the grant of that incorporation the claim to which was not a little embarrassed by the quarrels they were intended to appease.[4] At the same time a further reform was effected by the addition to the proprietors and donors of a new class consisting of students of the college who had taken degrees with distinction in the new London University, who were to be appointed by the Council from time to time as life members under the title of 'Fellows.' The first so named were John Taylor, Jacob Waley, and John Richard Quain.[5]

Under this constitution, which was largely the work of James Booth,[6] the college was governed until 1869.

[1] Minutes, ii, ff. 364–5; *Bye-Laws for the Management and Discipline of the University of London. Confirmed by the Proprietors, August,* 1832. *Printed 18th April,* 1834, 2.

[2] *Distribution of the Prizes,* 1832, 5, *cf.* 1, 10; 1833, 1, 10.

[3] *Ibid.,* 1834, 9, 1835, 18.

[4] *Ann. Rept.,* 1841, 8, 1842, 8, 1843, 9; *University College, London. Charter and Bye-Laws. Substance of the Charter of Incorporation. Bye-Laws (Passed at a General Meeting, May 7,* 1842 . . .).

[5] *Ann. Rept.,* 1844, 7.

[6] *D.N.B.; Ann. Rept.,* 1881, 13.

and that they expressed themselves not unfavourable to the plan of a great College in London. Of course, as Ministers had not been asked to pledge themselves to support us, but only to give us a general idea of their disposition, we could only get what we sought, a general answer. But that, being so favourable, is much. I was glad also to hear that both Mr. Robinson and Lord Liverpool approved highly of no rival theological chairs having been agreed upon. Mr. R. even differed from Mr. Hume, when the latter said that, of course, getting a charter is not to be thought of. 'I beg your pardon,' said Mr. Robinson, 'I think it might be thought of; and it is by no means an impossible supposition.' A copy of my Scheme of Education, but much mutilated and abridged, is submitted to their inspection." [1]

On the 26th of May, 1825, Brougham moved in the House of Commons for leave to bring in a bill to incorporate certain persons for the establishment of a college in or near to the City of London.[2]

But the University of Oxford was represented in the cabinet, and its representative, Peel, was a stronger man than Mr. Robinson, better known, if known at all, as that most obscure of prime ministers, Goody Goderich. He acquiesced in the grant of leave to introduce the bill, but made it clear that in so doing he did not commit himself to any declaration of opinion. On the same day he had written to the Dean of Christ Church:—

"*Private.* WHITEHALL,
May 26.

MY DEAR LLOYD,

Brougham means to bring in a bill for forming a Joint Stock Company, capital £200,000, for the foundation of a London College.

Professors, *Chancellor* &c. for it, to be elected by the subscribers.

Religious education to be excluded from the scheme.

This must be opposed and rejected, but I have hardly time, to give to such an important subject all the attention which it deserves.

Can you tell me where I can look for that which it would be useful for me to know [?]

Was there any public discussion on a London University? on the impolicy of forming a university, a place of education for adults, in the Metropolis.

[1] W. Beattie: *Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell*, 3 v., 1849, ii, 441–2.

[2] *Journals of the House of Commons*, lxxx, 457 a–b; *Parliamentary Debates*, n.s., xiii, 840–1.

On the effect of excluding religion from this public education of youth ?

At the time that the Inns of Court were frequented by youths of 17 or 18 when it was the fashion to repair to the Universities at a much earlier age—was there not much immorality arising out of that circumstance ?

Can it be argued that because Westminster & the Charter House are as well conducted as Eton or Harrow a London College would be as fit a place for the Education of Youth as Cambridge or Oxford ?

Tell me if you can where I can find on these and such matters, what it would be useful for me to know.

Ever your obedient servant

(signed) ROBERT PEEL.

DR. LLOYD,
Ch. Ch.
Oxford." [1]

The bill [2] was read a first time on the 27th of May.[3] It came up for a second reading on the 3rd of June. On that day, " notice being taken that the Bill ought to have been brought in upon Petition, as being a Private Bill," it was withdrawn.[4] Brougham announced that on the following Monday he would present a petition for leave to bring in a private bill on the subject,[5] but he did not persist. " Though [the bill] would have passed the Lower House in spite of the Ministry, yet as they were resolved not to countenance it, the Lords would certainly have thrown it out, and the measure was therefore, to save expense and delay, prudently dropt." [6]

The *Quarterly* has a story of a renewal of the attempt during the brief administration of Lord Goderich, which lasted from September, 1827, to January, 1828 :

" It is said that, during a late administration, a wish was entertained by the head of that administration, to give the sanction of government

[1] Copy, Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 40,342, ff. 269–72.

[2] *London College. Bill to incorporate certain Persons, for the establishment of a College, in or near* London, *for the Education of Youth in the Sciences and in Letters.* H. of C., 353 of 1825, III, 219 ; *The Times*, 2 June, 1825, 3 b.

[3] *Journals of the House of Commons*, lxxx, 461–2. [4] *Ibid.*, 484, 488.

[5] *Parliamentary Debates*, n.s., xiii, 1036.

[6] *The Edinburgh Review*, xlii, 1825, 363.

to the Gower-street College, if it could be done consistently with what he felt due to the religion of the nation, as well as to his own opinions, which were consistent upon that point. An interview, it is said, took place accordingly between one of his friends, high in office, and certain persons with whom the arrangements of the new college now rested; the want of religious instruction in the scheme was complained of, and it was asked whether some concession might not and ought not to be made, to the proper and very general feeling which this remarkable omission had excited. Supposing that for the sake of comprehending all denominations, it might be expedient not to conduct their scheme of education upon the principles of the established religion, what objection could there be to the use of Paley's Natural Theology in their course of study? It was admitted that this might be done. The next step was then tried; might not his Evidences also be introduced? No, it was replied, this was impossible; it would give offence to the Jews!" [1]

No further progress was made.

A favourable opportunity did not recur until the return of the Whigs to power in November, 1830. The university then found itself with friends at court, and its claims had meanwhile been strengthened by the grant of charters of incorporation to King's College, London, and to St. David's College, Lampeter.

St. David's College was founded to serve persons intended for the ministry in Wales, and received its charter in February, 1828.[2] King's College was founded in the same year. Its principal promoters were the dignitaries and governors of the Church. It was declared to be desirable that "a College for general education be founded in the Metropolis, in which, while the various branches of Literature and Science are made the subjects of instruction, it shall be an essential part of the system to imbue the minds of youth with a knowledge of the doctrines and duties of Christianity, as inculcated by the United Church of England and Ireland." The college was under Royal Patronage. The Archbishop

[1] *Quarterly Review*, xxxix, 1829, 133.

[2] *The Charters and Statutes of Saint David's College in the County of Cardigan*, Oxford, 1879; S. Lewis: *A Topographical Dictionary of Wales*, 2 v., 4th ed., 1849, i, 461–3; *cf.* F. C. Parry: *The Dissenters and the Universities; or the Civil Rights of the Dissenters most effectually secured by the erection of a New University*, 1835, 24.

of Canterbury was its visitor. Its governors, in virtue of their offices, were to be the Lord Chancellor, the Archbishop of York, the Lord Chief Justice, the Dean of Westminster, the Home Secretary, the Speaker, the Dean of St. Paul's, and the Lord Mayor. The Duke of Wellington, at the inaugural meeting, exhorted the founders to establish a plan "fit for the education of the youth of this metropolis—to enable that youth to perform their duties to their Sovereign and to their country in their various stations of life; and above all to give them knowledge of God (cheers)—a knowledge of the principles, precepts, and examples on which all his doctrines are founded (loud cheers)—a knowledge which shall teach them to be satisfied with their lot in this life, and give them hope in the mercies of God for the future one (continued cheering)." The institution, the Archbishop added, had "the entire concurrence and sanction of His Majesty's Government." [1] It obtained a royal charter of incorporation in 1829.

The grant of incorporation to King's College and to St. David's made it difficult to persist in the refusal of a similar privilege to London University. The advent of the Whigs to power led the university to seek not only this, but something more.

"The Council were encouraged by the . . . government of Lord Grey to apply for a Charter of Incorporation as an University, with all the privileges incident to that title." [2] A petition was preferred, accompanied by a draft of the charter desired. The petition received the approval of the Law Officers of the Crown, and the charter passed the Signet Office on the 3rd of February, 1831, and the Privy Seal the next day. There only remained for it to pass the Great Seal. At this moment the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, "to both of whom long previous notice had been given, for the first time interposed, and demanded that a clause should be inserted restraining [the] University from granting Degrees." [3]

[1] *The Morning Chronicle*, 23 June, 1828, 3 c.

[2] *University of London. Statement of Facts as to Charter. By W. T[ooke].* 13 *Aug.*, 1835, 1.

[3] *Ann. Rept.*, 1833, 14, 1835, 5, 14; *Charter of Incorporation for University of London, as applied for* 1831. H. of C., 80 of 1835, XL, 469.

The University of Oxford did not at once formally oppose the grant of the charter. Its attitude is defined in two letters subsequently written by the Duke of Wellington to Lord Melbourne.

"The object of the correspondence between Your Lordship and my lamented Predecessor," he wrote, "was not to object on the part of the University of Oxford to the grant of a Charter by His Majesty to the Institution in London styled the London University; but to render such a grant consistent with the publick interests by the Amendments suggested by the University of Oxford; and thus to avoid the necessity of appealing by Petition to the King; and of putting the Affair in a course of Judicial Discussion before the Privy Council." "It appears from the Correspondence," he added two days later, "that early in 1831 an application was made by the Institution called the London University for a Charter. It does not appear that any application was made for the Power to grant Degrees. It is concluded that this Power will be inherent in the Title University assumed by the Institution; and to be confirmed by His Majesty's Charter. This consequence of the grant of the Charter was noticed by the University; and they submitted to Your Lordship their request that its inconveniences might be guarded against." [1]

The university wrote to its Chancellor, Lord Grenville, on the 31st of January, 1831, asking him to obtain information about the proposed grant to London University. Having obtained the desired information from Lord Melbourne, and communicated it to the university, Grenville proposed to Melbourne on the 3rd of February, "that a clause might be inserted in the Charter, expressly declaring that it shall not extend to the power of conferring Degrees. . . . I doubt not," he added, "Your Lordship will be of opinion that this is a point which ought one way or other to be definitely settled by the Charter and not be left open to future litigation or controversy." He enclosed a copy of a letter to himself from the Pro-Vice Chancellor. The university had taken the opinion of Sir Charles Wetherell. It had been advised that the power to grant degrees might subsequently

[1] P.R.O., H.O. 44/24. The Duke of Wellington to Lord Melbourne, 6 and 8 March, 1834; *cf. Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd Series, xxi, 1036.

be claimed under the proposed charter, and that a clause should be inserted expressly precluding this. "Doubtless, my Lord," the Pro-Vice Chancellor wrote, "it would be the duty of the University to Petition His Majesty if necessary. But we confidently anticipate the attainment of our object without resorting to that measure. We believe that the Petitioners do not intentionally pray for the power of conferring Degrees and that they will be ready to prevent all doubt and misconstruction on the subject."[1]

The hand of the promoters of the university was effectively forced. The charter as drafted[2] made no explicit reference to the power of conferring degrees. It granted incorporation as a 'university.' What did that imply? And what was it intended that it should imply? Four questions required an answer, three of them legal in character. Did the promoters, in spite of their previous denials, now seek the power to grant degrees? Was that power inherent in the title 'university'? Should it be explicitly precluded by a clause in the charter? And would such a clause be effective?

On the 4th of February, Lord Melbourne referred the matter to the Law Officers, asking, "1stly whether the Heads of the University of London can consistently with the Laws of the Realm and without a violation of the proposed Charter exercise the power of granting Degrees, and, 2ndly, whether it would not be the safest course in order to remove all doubts and difficulties on that point to introduce an exception in the Grant."[3] The Law Officers advised the addition of a proviso—

"that the said University shall not have power or authority by virtue of this our charter or by any resolution order or Bye-law or otherwise howsoever to grant to or confer upon any person or persons any degree or degrees whatsoever; and that if any degree or degrees

[1] Lord Grenville to Lord Melbourne, with enclosure, —Jan., 1831; same to same, 26 Jan., 1831; same to same, with enclosure, 3 Feb., 1831. Copies preserved in the Privy Council Office.

[2] *Charter of Incorporation for University of London, as applied for* 1831. H. of C., 80 of 1835, XL, 469.

[3] P.R.O., H.O. 117/3.

shall be attempted to be conferred or granted in any manner or upon any pretence whatever the same shall be utterly void." [1]

The university sought to meet the objections by proposing the insertion of a clause precluding it from granting degrees in theology. The proposal was communicated by Melbourne to Grenville, and to the University of Cambridge. To neither of the universities did it prove acceptable. The University of Oxford through Lord Grenville proposed on the 26th of February the insertion of a clause prohibiting the grant of any degrees by the same name as those granted by existing universities. In March the University of Cambridge entered a formal petition against the grant of a charter with power to accord academic distinctions by the same titles as Oxford and Cambridge.[2] The university was unwilling to accept the charter deprived of such powers, and the matter came to a standstill. It was not even clear that the older universities would have been satisfied with the restrictive clause which they demanded. Sir Charles Wetherell said, in the opinion which he gave upon the case as put to him by the University of Oxford, that the supposition that

"the University of London should hereafter in *breach* of the above clauses actually *confer* the Prohibited degrees involves a matter of considerable difficulty—assuming that a body incorporated as a university has an inherent power as legally incident to such a Body to grant Degrees, a serious Doubt may be raised whether a clause in a Charter of incorporation restrictive of such an inherent power, might not be deemed void at Law as contradictory to and inconsistent with the essential purpose of the Institution itself as a University. The novel and peculiar nature of such questions as these makes me hesitate in saying that the above restrictive clauses would legally and effectively operate to prevent the claim and assumption of the privileges to be withheld in the events I have *alluded* to—though they would be an abuse of the real meaning and intent of the charter."

[1] Minutes, ii, f. 208.

[2] Lord Melbourne to the Duke of Gloucester, with enclosure, 17 Feb., 1831; Duke of Gloucester to Lord Melbourne, 19 Feb.; same to same, with enclosure, 22 Feb.; Lord Grenville to Lord Melbourne, 22 Feb.; same to same, with enclosures, 26 Feb., copies preserved in the Privy Council Office; P.R.O., H.O. 44/24, Cambridge petition against the charter, 13 March, 1831.

He advised that an act of parliament would be expedient.[1]

The proposal to concede the right to grant degrees was the source of much perplexity. It not only created a legal problem, and enlivened the jealousy of Oxford and Cambridge. It also brought to a head the whole problem of medical education in London.

The system of medical education which prevailed in the metropolis, and the organisation of the medical profession was, as it has been observed, far from satisfactory, and the founders of the university were zealous to improve the state of affairs. To be successful in this, the leaders in the medical school regarded it as essential to have the power of giving degrees. "It is a *sine qua non*, it is necessary to general success—it is necessary to enable me to do good," wrote Bell in 1828.[2] In March of that year, the Council, in reply to a memorial from certain of the medical professors urging that steps should be taken to improve the organisation of the medical school, stated that they were "unwilling to sanction any . . . petition . . . to parliament until the University shall by its success and acknowledged utility have acquired that importance to which it may by the unremitting exertions of all connected with it become entitled."[3] Pending the grant of the authority which they desired, the Council developed the suggestion that the university should grant certificates, which had been made in the *Second Statement*. In April, 1830, it published regulations for the grant of a medical diploma.

"To make the document practically useful," wrote Horner on behalf of the Council, "it must have such *a designation* as the person obtaining it can conveniently affix to his name and be called by. . . . The Council have been for some time engaged in considering the qualifications, conditions, and the form under which the diploma shall be granted in the different departments of education; they have not yet

[1] Lord Grenville to Lord Melbourne, with Opinion annexed, 26 Feb., 1831, preserved in the Privy Council Office; *cf. Substance of the Speech of Sir Charles Wetherell, before the Lords of the Privy Council, on the Subject of Incorporating the London University*, 1834, 19–20, 78–9, 83; *The Edinburgh Review*, lx, 1835, 213–20.

[2] *Letters of Sir Charles Bell*, 1870, 301.

[3] Minutes, i, f. 161.

settled what these shall be in any other than the Medical School. . . . Having come to a decision upon the medical diploma, it has been resolved that . . . it shall be called 'The Diploma of Master of Medicine and Surgery in the University of London' (which may be thus translated and abbreviated *M. Med. et Chir. U.L.*)."

The candidate was to be required to have attended lectures on professional subjects during three academical sessions, or two sessions at the university and one winter session in any established school at home or abroad. He was to have acquired certificates of honour in the practice of medicine, anatomy, physiology, surgery, midwifery and the diseases of women and children, materia medica, botany, chemistry, and anatomical demonstrations and dissections. He was to have attended the medical and surgical practice of some hospital for twelve months. He was required to translate a passage in writing from some Latin medical author, was to write an essay in the English language on some professional subject chosen by himself and approved by the Faculty of Medicine, and to make an anatomical demonstration. He might be further examined upon any part of his professional studies on which the Faculty of Medicine might think proper to propose questions.[1]

The action of the university was thought to be presumptuous. The hospital schools had as good a title to confer such diplomas. There might as well, argued the *London Medical Gazette*, be "Masters of Medicine and Surgery" "in the *University* of St. Bartholomew's—in the United Colleges of Guy and St. Thomas—or, what would come nearer the mark, in the London *University* at Mile-End-Road."[2] But, it added, would it not "be looked upon as a burlesque, and bring all such designations into contempt, if every five or six private lecturers were to confer diplomas and constitute 'Masters' of medicine and surgery at their several schools?" And there was "nothing intrinsically more ridiculous in this being done by them than in a joint-stock company taking the appellation of an University, and

[1] *London Medical Gazette*, vi, 219–21 (8 May, 1830); *Cal.*, 1831, 189–91.
[2] *London Medical Gazette*, vi, 379 (5 June, 1830).

assuming a privilege which, whether it be proper or not they should possess, has never, in this country at least, been accorded,—except to bodies incorporated by royal charter."[1] The interests of the College of Physicians and of the Society of Apothecaries were protected by law. But the diploma of the College of Surgeons was honorary, and moreover was subject to a tax, when the diploma of the university would go free as the deed of a private association.[2] Even friendly critics looked askance at the plan.[3] When, therefore, in 1831, it appeared that the grant of the diploma by the university was to acquire the legal force of admission to a recognised degree, the medical schools ranged themselves with the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge in opposition.

The petition for the grant of a charter of incorporation remained in abeyance from February, 1831, until the spring of 1833. By that date the claims of the university had been further strengthened by the erection of a university at Durham and its recognition in an act of parliament in 1832.[4] In April, 1833, *The Evangelical Magazine* drew the attention of Dissenters to the fact that London was the only university in England which they could attend without a vital sacrifice of principle, and expressed the view that it ought forthwith to receive a charter, and to possess the power of conferring degrees in law and medicine.

"If our Dissenting brethren," it urged, "would very generally express, in respectful terms, their favourable wishes on behalf of the London University, they would no doubt obtain their object. They might either memorialize the Privy Council on the subject, or present petitions to Parliament calling on the Legislature to solicit His Majesty

[1] *London Medical Gazette*, vi, 471 (19 June, 1830).

[2] *Ibid.*, vi, 379 (5 June, 1830).

[3] *Lancet, MDCCCXXXII–XXXIII*, i, 9, 85–6, 86–8, 157.

[4] 2 & 3 W. IV. c. 19, *An Act to enable the Dean and Chapter of Durham to appropriate Part of the Property of their Church to the Establishment of a University in connection therewith for the Advancement of Learning*, 4 July, 1832; J. T. Fowler: *Durham University. Earlier Foundations and Present Colleges*, 1904, 23–6; F. C. Parry: *The Dissenters and the Universities; or the Civil Rights of the Dissenters most effectually secured by the erection of a New University*, 1835, 24; but *cf.* Fowler, *op. cit.*, 32.

to grant such a boon . . . Surely," it said, "Lord Brougham will aid the Dissenters in the effort proposed, and which we have good reason to believe will speedily be made." [1]

The response was disappointing. Bocking, Brighton, Christchurch, Horsham, Lewes, Liverpool, Salford, and Truro, alone sent petitions.[2] But in spite of the disappointment the university pressed in June for the determination of the government, and proposed a clause for insertion in the charter precluding the grant of degrees in theology.[3] Meeting with no satisfactory response, on the 4th of July, 1833, Tooke moved an Address asking for the grant of a royal charter of incorporation, "with such powers and privileges as shall appear to His Majesty to be most effectual for the encouragement of Education amongst all classes of His Majesty's Subjects." [4] In debate, Lord Althorp, the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, stated that if pressed to a division he should vote for the Address, but suggested, since the question was already under the consideration of the government, that it would be expedient that the motion should be withdrawn, and to this proposal Tooke gave his reluctant consent.[5] The deliberations of the government were unfruitful. Melbourne, already in communication with the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, found their opposition unabated [6] and nothing was done.

Before the claim was again pressed in 1834, there developed a crisis both in the history of the Church and in that of medical education.

[1] *Evangelical Magazine*, n.s., xi, 1833, 161 ; *cf. Congregational Magazine*, n.s., ix, 1833, 228.

[2] *Journals of the House of Commons*, lxxxviii, 315, 404, 443, 490, 548 ; *Journals of the House of Lords*, lxv, 259.

[3] P.R.O., H.O. 44/24.

[4] *Journals of the House of Commons*, lxxxviii, 548 a.

[5] *University of London. Debate in the House of Commons, on Thursday, July 4, 1833, on the motion of William Tooke, Esq., M.P., F.R.S., for an Address to His Majesty for the Grant of a Charter to the University of London. Extracted from the Mirror of Parliament.—Part CCXXX. By Desire of the Council of the University*, 1833 ; *University of London. Statement of Facts as to Charter. By W. T[ooke]*, 13 *Aug.*, 1835, 1.

[6] P.R.O., H.O. 44/24.

In the summer of 1833, threatened upon the one hand by the Oxford Movement, the Church had to meet upon the other a renewal of the attack upon its privileges by the Dissenters. Many topics were brought in controversy. There was a rally of the forces of the Church. Its enemies were divided, and in their immediate purposes they failed. The story of their efforts belongs to public history, but one chapter in it has a direct bearing upon that of the university. Among the claims advanced by the Dissenters was that of admission to graduation at Oxford and Cambridge, and the dispute about the incorporation of the University of London and the concession to it of the power to grant degrees was caught up in a wider conflict.[1] It became at once more conspicuous and more embittered. The vague alarms of the devout took shape. Concession of the power to grant degrees became an element, though perhaps a subordinate element, in those dangers which threatened the Establishment. The promoters of the university had now not only to contend with the vested interests of their professional rivals, but to take a part in a national controversy. The last three years of the conflict were the most strenuous of all, and the erection of a university became a matter of political moment.

Concurrently, and not altogether irrelevantly, the need for a reform in medical education was forced upon the public attention. The foundation of the medical school in the University of London had been but part of a scheme to reform the medical profession as a whole, and by threatening to secure for the university alone the title to grant a London degree the reformers served their larger purpose. The clamour aroused by the pretensions of the university led to the recognition that it was desirable that there should be conceded the power to grant medical degrees in London, and it was quickly observed that if the objection to the enjoyment of so valuable a privilege by an upstart joint-stock company were to be effective, some alternative, and more comprehensive, body, to whom the duty could be entrusted, must be found.

[1] *Cf. University of London. Address from the Senate to the Council in support of the application of the University for a Charter*, 1834, 6, 8–9.

"There can, we think," wrote in July, 1833, the *London Medical Gazette*, which represented the more conservative medical opinion, "be no reasonable doubt about the propriety of medical degrees being granted in London. It appears little short of absurd that a student who has received the high standard of education which the metropolis affords should yet be compelled to resort to some other seat of learning for the honorary distinctions of his profession—that his knowledge should be acquired at one place, and the certificate of his attainments at another. . . . It seems extraordinary, that with a larger number of medical students than are congregated in any other part of the empire, and with opportunities of affording instruction prodigiously greater than those possessed in any other portion of the British dominions, the highest honours of the profession should only be attainable by visiting either of the English universities, where medicine cannot be efficiently taught, or by journeying to Scotland, or to the sister kingdom." [1]

But the very important question remained—to what body ought the privilege of conferring degrees to be entrusted? It was claimed by the self-styled university. It was also claimed by King's College, and by the teachers at the great hospitals. Of the opposition to its concession to the university, the *London Medical Gazette* was, from the start, the protagonist. It had ridiculed the proposal of the Council to institute a diploma; it persistently opposed their desire to convert the diploma into a degree.

Admitting, it wrote, "the school to be a good school enough, and that, if it had an efficient hospital, it would approach to a par with some of the other establishments. Yet . . . we would ask, on what principles of justice or policy privileges should be conferred upon it which are denied to the other great schools of this metropolis?—much more, why privileges should be granted which would annihilate the others?—for it is quite clear, that to confer on any particular school the power of granting degrees, would at once establish a monopoly and destroy all competition." [2]

And upon this matter the *Lancet* was in agreement with the *Gazette*.[3] But, if the privilege was to be denied to the

[1] *London Medical Gazette*, xii, 504–5 (13 July, 1833); *cf.* 539–41 (20 July, 1833), 618–20 (3 Aug., 1833), xiii, 837 (1 March, 1834).

[2] *Ibid.*, xii, 505–6 (13 July, 1833); *cf.* xiii, 21 (5 Oct., 1833), 50 (12 Oct., 1833), 838 (1 March, 1834), xiv, 146 (26 Apr., 1834).

[3] *Lancet, MDCCCXXXII–XXXIII*, 599–602.

university, some other body must be found in which to vest it. The first proposal of the *London Medical Gazette* was that the three medical corporations already existing should be chosen—the Colleges of Physicians and of Surgeons, and the Worshipful Society of Apothecaries, though it recognised that the College of Physicians might first need reform.[1] But as early as 1828 it had suggested the combination of what it chose to call "the London College" and King's College in "the London University."[2] In 1832 it pointed out that London was already virtually a university containing many colleges,[3] and it now returned to and developed that idea.

"What," it wrote, "is wanting to render London essentially an university, but to incorporate the several distinguished schools existing within it, thus rendering them virtually so many colleges, and to vest in a particular body the government of the whole? This would be reform on a grand scale. The particular body should not be part or parcel of any of the subordinate establishments; no teachers from the different schools, much less those of a particular school, should have any part in the control of the general institution."[4]

A correspondent in the *London Medical and Surgical Journal*, representing the private lecturers, would have gone a step farther, and urged that the organisation of the proposed university should be such that "*all* can apply to be admitted to collegiate honours of the university, *no matter at what school, or at what place* educated."[5]

The persistent efforts of the university to secure the concession of the privilege to itself forced the profession to take practical measures to secure another solution. A meeting of private hospital lecturers was held in July, 1833, to discuss the subject.[6] In the same month the Physicians,

[1] *London Medical Gazette*, xii, 506–7 (13 July, 1833), 541 (20 July, 1833), xiii, 839 (1 March, 1834).

[2] *Ibid.*, ii, 602 (11 Oct., 1828); *cf. Athenæum*, 1828, 800, 1831, 476.

[3] *Ibid.*, xi, 60 (13 Oct., 1832).

[4] *Ibid.*, xii, 540 (20 July, 1833); *cf.* xiii, 838–9 (1 March, 1834).

[5] *London Medical and Surgical Journal*, iv, 27 (3 Aug., 1833).

[6] *Ibid.*, iv, 55 (10 Aug., 1833), *cf.* 27–8 (3 Aug., 1833); *Lancet*, *MDCCCXXXII–XXXIII*, ii, 534–5, 602–3.

Surgeons, and Lecturers of the Hospitals in London presented a memorial against the grant of the charter.[1] On the 5th of August, a petition was made to parliament by forty-nine licentiates of the College of Physicians, including the heads of most of the medical schools of the metropolis, for the institution of an enquiry into the state of the medical profession and of the College of Physicians in particular.[2] It was supported by petitions from Armagh, and from the Royal Colleges of Surgeons and of Physicians of Edinburgh.[3] On the 11th of February, 1834, on the motion of Warburton, the House of Commons appointed a Select Committee on Medical Education.[4]

To the religious conflict and to the claims of the Dissenters for admission to graduation at Oxford and Cambridge, the parliamentary enquiry thus set on foot was related, both by the fact that Dissenters in the medical profession were hampered by the need to seek their degrees either in Scotland or Ireland, or upon the continent, and by the particular grievance that the Royal College of Physicians precluded a physician by its bye-laws from claiming admission as a Fellow, unless he had graduated, or been admitted *ad eundem* at the University of Oxford or Cambridge, so that Dissenters were effectually excluded from the Fellowship.[5]

In consequence of these developments, the discussion of the claims of the university, when they were revived in 1834, was much more thorough and far-reaching than before. The desultory and disparate controversies of previous years were brought to a head.

In February, 1834, the Council of the university announced that it had not yet overcome the difficulties which impeded the attainment of a charter of incorporation, but that it had

[1] P.R.O., H.O. 44/24.

[2] *Journals of the House of Commons*, lxxxviii, 636 a; *London Medical and Surgical Journal*, iv, 54–7 (10 Aug., 1833); *London Medical Gazette*, xiii, 52–3 (12 Oct., 1833).

[3] 23, 28 Aug., 1833, *Journals of the House of Commons*, lxxxviii, 719 a, 733 a.

[4] *Ibid.*, lxxxix, 20 a; *Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd Series, xxi, 233–6.

[5] *London Medical and Surgical Journal*, iv, 56 (10 Aug., 1833); *London Medical Gazette*, xiii, 838 (1 March, 1834), xiv, 151 (26 Apr., 1834), xix, 465–6 (24 Dec., 1836).

taken measures to bring before the Privy Council the objections of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.[1] It had in fact applied to the Home Office for the determination of the Crown,[2] and Lord Melbourne informed the parties interested of the renewal of the application.[3]

In March, the Royal College of Surgeons petitioned against the grant of the charter to the university, and asked to be heard should the expediency of such a grant be referred to the consideration of the Privy Council.[4] In the same month, a memorial against the monopoly sought for by the proprietors of the London University was presented to the Council on behalf of a meeting of physicians, surgeons, and lecturers, of the Hospitals and Medical Schools of London.[5] In April, the same body petitioned against the grant of a charter of incorporation, which should include the privilege of conferring degrees in physic, and asked to be heard in opposition to the prayer of the London University.[6] A petition to be heard was also entered by the University of Cambridge,[7] and the University of Oxford now took the step which it had refrained from taking in 1831. In March, Newman wrote from Oxford, "The Duke has begun his campaign by advising us strenuously to resist the London University granting degrees in arts and divinity, and there is to be a convocation next week about it."[8] On the 16th of April, a deputation headed by Wellington presented an address to the King at St. James's on behalf of the university.[9]

[1] *Ann. Rept.*, 1834, 9.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1835, 5; *London Medical Gazette*, xiii, 837 (1 March, 1834); P.R.O., H.O. 44/24.

[3] P.R.O., H.O. 44/24.

[4] *Petition of the Royal College of Surgeons of London to His Majesty, on the Application from the London University for a Charter to empower them to grant Medical Degrees. Presented March*, 1834. H. of C. 602 I–II of 1834, XIII, Pt. ii, App. 60–1; *London Medical and Surgical Journal*, v, 404–6 (26 Apr., 1834).

[5] *London Medical Gazette*, xiv, 149–51 (26 Apr., 1834).

[6] *Ibid.*, 147–9 (26 Apr., 1834); *cf. Lancet, MDCCCXXXIII–XXXIV*, ii, 327, 699–700.

[7] *Ann. Rept.*, 1835, 5.

[8] *Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman* . . . Edited . . . by Anne Mozley, 2 v., 1891, ii, 29.

[9] *The Morning Chronicle*, 17 Apr., 1834, 3 c.

On the other side, Lord Durham presented in the House of Lords, in March, a petition from certain Protestant Dissenters, meeting at Frome, in Somersetshire, praying for the removal of grievances, among which they included the inability of London University to grant degrees,[1] and on the 10th of April, a meeting of the Court of Common Council of the City of London was held on the requisition of seventy members, when it was announced that "a communication had been made [by the University of Oxford] to the Home-office, stating that a deputation had been appointed to present an address to His Majesty against the charter, and the 16th day of the month was fixed for receiving the members of the body." It was proposed by Richard Taylor, a member of the famous Norwich family, printer to the University, and brother to Sarah Austin, that the City should present a simultaneous address in favour of the charter. The motion was carried "without a division, and with scarcely a dissentient." An address was drawn up and agreed to by the Court, duly presented at St. James's on the 16th, and referred to the Privy Council.[2] A similar address was presented by the three Denominations of Dissenting Ministers meeting in Redcross Street.[3]

The case was heard by the Council on the 24th and 26th April, and the 3rd May, 1834. The scene is described by Greville.

"*April 25th.*—Yesterday the Privy Council met to hear the London University petition, praying for a charter, and the counter-petitions of Oxford and Cambridge and the medical bodies. The assemblage was rather curious, considering the relative political position of some of the parties. All the Cabinet Ministers were summoned; Lords Grey and Holland were there, the Chancellor, Denman, Lyndhurst, Eldon, the two Archbishops, and the Bishop of London. Old Eldon got

[1] *Journals of the House of Lords*, lxvi, 44; *Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd Series, xxi, 1035–6.

[2] *The Times*, 11 Apr., 1834, 3 c–d, 17 Apr., 1834, 6 b; *The Morning Chronicle*, 17 Apr., 1834, 3 c; *London Medical Gazette*, xiv, 178 (3 May, 1834).

[3] *Ann. Rept.*, 1835, 5; *Substance of the Speech of Sir Charles Wetherell, before the Lords of the Privy Council, on the Subject of Incorporating the London University*, 1834, 86–7; *cf.* P.R.O., P.C. 2/215, ff. 109, 164.

a fall as he came into the house and hurt his head. Brougham and the rest were full of civilities and tenderness, but he said, 'it was of no consequence, for the *brains* had been knocked out long ago.' Wetherell made an amusing speech, and did not conclude. It is seldom that the sounds of merriment are heard within those walls, but he made the Lords laugh and the gallery too. There were Allen of Holland House and Philpotts sitting cheek by jowl to hear the discussion.

May 11th . . . The debate at the Council Board terminated after two more days speaking. It was tiresome on the whole. Brougham is a bad presiding judge, for he will talk so much to the counsel, and being very anxious to abbreviate the business, he ought to have avoided saying pungent things, which elicited rejoinders and excited heat. The extreme gravity and patient attention of old Eldon struck me forcibly as contrasted with the air of *ennui*, the frequent and audible yawns, and the flippant and sarcastic interruptions of the Chancellor. Wetherell made a very able speech, which he afterwards published. The most striking incident occurred in an answer of Bickersteth's to one of the Chancellor's interruptions. He said, talking of degrees, 'Pray, Mr. Bickersteth, what is to prevent the London University granting degrees *now*?' to which he replied, 'The universal scorn and contempt of mankind.' Brougham said no more; the effect was really fine."[1]

The aims of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge and of the medical profession were quite distinct. The universities opposed the grant of the charter because of the peculiar character of the institution in Gower Street. The medical profession was quite ready to see the erection of a non-sectarian metropolitan university, but was unwilling to invest with that dignity what it regarded as an upstart and unimportant establishment. Many arguments served them in common, but at bottom they were divided.

Wetherell, on behalf of the University of Oxford, argued first, that the King could not legally incorporate a university in England other than such as should conform with the doctrines, discipline and worship, of the Church of England, since "the regulation and government of a University is . . . matter ecclesiastical . . . [and] by the law of England a

[1] C. C. F. Greville: *A Journal of the Reigns of King George IV. and King William IV.* Edited by H. Reeve, 3 v., 3rd ed., 1875, iii, 80, 81–2; *cf. London Medical Gazette*, xiv, 571 (19 July, 1834); *The Morning Chronicle*, 25 Apr., 1834, 1 b–c, 28 Apr., 1834, 4 b–c, 5 May, 1834, 4 b.

University is subject to the ecclesiastical visitation of the Archbishop "[1]; and secondly, that to incorporate a university upon the principle and for the purpose that it should not so conform would be a breach of various statutes and laws of the realm.[2] Were the crown to attempt any such thing it would find itself at variance with its own duties as head of the Church,[3] in conflict with itself as visitor in virtue of its character as founder,[4] and liable to be contradicted by itself in the person of its representative the Lord Chancellor in his capacity as the guardian of wards in chancery,[5] and the King, he added, was in fact precluded by his oath from making such a grant.[6] In addition to such fundamental objections exception was also taken to the embarrassment and injustice which would result from allowing such an institution to confer the title of Master of Arts, which had hitherto denoted conformity with the established doctrine of the Church, and which, because it had meant that, had been accepted as a qualification to exercise duty in the ecclesiastical courts and to fulfil a great number of offices in schools, hospitals and other such bodies, enjoying very considerable endowments.[7] Or, it was variously argued, the degrees of Oxford were "the indication of a religious profession, and the habits, and education, and associations of a gentleman." The same title granted by London could not bear the same connotation.

"If any scheme of education, short of lectures in impiety, can tend to form a habit of irreligion, it must be one in which religion is set aside as an unmanageable, impracticable attainment. If any place can demoralize the young, it must be the metropolis of this country, thrown open by the removal of all discipline. If any plan is likely to collect candidates for honours out of every rank and occupation in society, without any regard to conditions, it is one of which the

[1] *Substance of the Speech of Sir Charles Wetherell, before the Lords of the Privy Council, on the Subject of Incorporating the London University*, 1834, 34, 38–52, 59.

[2] *Ibid.*, 34, 62–75. [3] *Ibid.*, 60–1 [4] *Ibid.*, 77, 80.

[5] *Ibid.*, 76–7. [6] *Ibid.*, 90–3.

[7] *Ibid.*, 83–6; *cf. Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman* . . . Edited . . . by Anne Mozley, 2 v., 1891, ii, 29.

comprehension is universal, its means cheapness, its object a profit upon capital." [1]

To call men produced by such a system by the names of the graduates of Oxford was to utter false coin, and the royal mint might not unreasonably take objection.

The case of the medical profession, to be collected from the medical journals and other sources, as well as from the petitions and the meagre reports of the speeches of its counsel, was very different. The profession was almost unanimous in its opposition. Liberal united with conservative opinion.[2] The ground of offence was the proposal to single out for elevation to the dignity of a degree-giving body, a school which was new, in no way, it was alleged, superior to many others, and in some respects inappropriately constituted. It was as yet a mere experiment.[3] While it had no hospital, whatever other merits it might possess, it suffered an inferiority, and it certainly had no title to privileges over the other medical and surgical schools of London.[4] It was financially embarrassed, and might have a pecuniary interest in the success of its application, and a constitution which placed the control in the hands of shareholders, was, particularly when shares could be had for £25, unfitted for a university.[5] To

[1] W. Sewell: *A Second Letter to a Dissenter on the Opposition of the University of Oxford to the Charter of the London College*, 1834, 41, 43, 45.

[2] *London Medical and Surgical Journal*, v, 438 (3 May, 1834); *A Speech of John Epps, M.D., on the Subject of bestowing a Charter, with power to confer degrees, on the London University. Delivered at the Westminster Medical Society . . .*, 1834, 1–2; *Lancet*, *MDCCCXXXII–XXXIII*, ii, 599–602, *MDCCCXXXIII–XXXIV*, ii, 193–5.

[3] *Petition of the Royal College of Surgeons of London to His Majesty, on the Application from the London University for a Charter to empower them to grant Medical Degrees. Presented March*, 1834. H. of C., 602 I–II of 1834, XIII, Pt. ii, App., 60–1.

[4] *London Medical Gazette*, xiv, 150 (26 Apr., 1834); *Substance of the Speech of Sir Charles Wetherell, before the Lords of the Privy Council, on the Subject of Incorporating the London University*, 1834, 7; *The Morning Chronicle*, 5 May, 1833, 4 b.

[5] *Petition of the Royal College of Surgeons* [etc.]; *London Medical Gazette*, xiv, 150–1 (26 Apr., 1834), 572 (19 July, 1834); *London Medical and Surgical Journal*, v, 438 (3 May, 1834); *Substance of the Speech of Sir Charles Wetherell, before the Lords of the Privy Council, on the Subject of Incorporating the London University*, 1834, 14–6, 17–9, 21; *The Morning Chronicle*, 5 May, 1833, 4 b.

grant a monopoly to such an institution would be an injustice,[1] and would be detrimental to the best interests of medical education. It was not to be desired that the office of teaching should be combined with that of examining,[2] and it would destroy the valuable existing system of private teachers.[3] The Royal College of Surgeons pleaded infringement of its chartered rights,[4] but the profession as a whole was ready for reform.

"We," wrote certain memorialists, whose opinion was endorsed by the profession, "have been informed, and believe it to be true, that many of the subjects of this realm, dissenting from the Established Church, have complained, and continue to complain, of their entire exclusion from the distinctions conferred at the English Universities; and that such complaint has been privately urged in favour of the Petition before His Majesty's Council. But we humbly submit, that the relief which we venture to hope will be obtained by the Dissenters of England, ought not to be granted by such means as would necessarily inflict manifest injustice on a large body of His Majesty's subjects, disturb and degrade a profession which it is of vital importance to support, and check the progress of a science essential to the welfare of the community.

There is, however, another mode by which the Dissenters from the Established Church might, as far as academic honours are concerned, be effectually relieved, and which we humbly, but most earnestly, recommend to the attention of His Majesty's Government,—namely, the establishment of a Metropolitan University, framed in accordance with the liberal spirit of the age, and free from the difficulties of ecclesiastical distinctions. If this idea should be thought worthy of adoption, and it should be deemed expedient that degrees be conferred in London, we take the liberty of suggesting that all the advantages of such a plan would be secured, and that all the evils before pointed out would be avoided, by vesting the requisite power in some independent body, not concerned in teaching; so that all those who have been edu-

[1] *Petition of the Royal College of Surgeons* [etc.]; *A Speech of John Epps . . .*, 1834, 2–3; *London Medical Gazette*, xiv, 150 (26 Apr., 1834).

[2] *A Speech of John Epps . . .*, 1834, 2, 4–5, 7; *London Medical Gazette*, xiii, 49 (12 Oct., 1833), xiv, 150 (26 Apr., 1834); *London Medical and Surgical Journal*, v, 407 (26 Apr., 1834); *Petition of the Royal College of Surgeons* [etc.]; *Lancet, MDCCCXXXII–XXXIII*, i, 87.

[3] *A Speech of John Epps . . .*, 1834, 6–7.

[4] *Petition of the Royal College of Surgeons* [etc.].

cated in any of the efficient schools should be admissible to examination for such degrees, on principles of perfect equality. In this manner a Medical University might be established in London, to which the several schools, and, among the rest, the London University, would stand in the relation of so many colleges; whilst to invest any one particular school with the exclusive privilege of conferring degrees in physic, would be the same thing as to grant a similar power to any single college in Oxford or Cambridge." [1]

It was added, in some quarters, that in any event no steps should be taken while the whole subject of medical education was under the consideration of parliament.[2]

The university made no attempt to meet the constitutional arguments of Wetherell, and no very effective answer to the medical teachers, and Amos was very critical of the way in which its case had been conducted.[3] It expressed the view that a distinction should be made between a licence to practise and a degree, and conceded that a General Board should be established in England for the purpose of examining and licensing candidates to practise medicine and surgery.[4] It agreed, even, that should it be enacted, after the conclusion of the investigations of the Committee of the House of Commons, that medical degrees should be granted by a Central Board of Examiners, the university should, in common with others, lose the privilege it now sought.[5] But it still argued that a degree should connote something more than professional training, that it should be a guarantee, as well, of a good general education, that such an education could really only be provided by a university, and that, as a university, it was entitled to share the duty with Oxford and Cambridge, and the universities of Scotland and Ireland.[6]

[1] *London Medical Gazette*, xiv, 151 (26 Apr., 1834); *cf. London Medical and Surgical Journal*, v, 407 (26 Apr., 1834).

[2] *London Medical and Surgical Journal*, v, 411 (26 Apr., 1834), 439 (3 May, 1834).

[3] *Legal Examiner and Law Chronicle*, iii, 1834, 217, 258.

[4] *University of London. Address from the Senate to the Council in support of the application of the University for a Charter*, 1834, 11.

[5] *Ibid.*, 11–2.

[6] *Ibid.*, 2–3, 12; *The Morning Chronicle*, 25 Apr., 1834, 1 c; *London Medical Gazette*, xiv, 571 (19 July, 1834).

But this was to beg the question, and to put in as evidence that which you were seeking to prove. The Senate itself recognised "that no opposition would be offered to the prayer of the University, if it sought merely a Charter of Incorporation. The opposition is offered, because it seeks to be incorporated under such a name, and in such a manner, as would convey to it a power of conferring Degrees."[1] "It is the assumption of a name to which they were not entitled," wrote the *Gazette*, "—it is the impudence and dishonesty of trying to impose themselves as a *University*—which has been the sole obstacle to their obtaining an act of incorporation."[2] To urge your superiority and self-sufficiency, while you sought a privilege, was to invite an obvious retort.

"We advise the Joint-stock Company in Gower-Street, either to give up their aspirations after exclusive privileges, and just to manufacture degrees on their own bottom, or let them at length be shamed into modesty, and take their place with other great schools, content to share with them the good and evil of their calling." "We earnestly wish that 'the Faculty' . . . would fairly dub a few—make a score or two of 'Masters,' and send them out into the world to try their fortune. Why should they hesitate? An individual has done what, in their collective strength, they seem afraid to attempt. The late Dr. Walker used to confer diplomas in vaccination! He granted degrees, and yet he had no charter! It is the easiest thing in the world to do so; as Hamlet says,

'"Tis as easy as lying.'

Get a large piece of parchment—the larger the better; have it well emblazoned with black letter, mixed with a little gilding or tinsel; set forth the morality, the ingenuousness, and the learning of the possessor; confer on him a name (and 'Master,' the one proposed, is sufficiently *imposing*); authorize him to kill or cure, over all the civilized globe—'*ubique gentium*,' as our Edinburgh friends have it;—append to this a large seal and a tin case, and the DEGREE is complete. Now all this has been done, and can be done again, without going to the Privy Council."[3]

[1] *University of London. Address from the Senate to the Council in support of the application of the University for a Charter*, 1834, 2.

[2] *London Medical Gazette*, xiv, 570 (19 July, 1834), *cf.* ii, 600 (11 Oct., 1828).

[3] *Ibid.*, xiv, 572 (19 July, 1834).

And in fact, as against the medical schools, the case was felt to be weak, and the supporters of the university were themselves divided.[1] Grant, at the close of his introductory address to the medical school in October, 1833, said that with the means at their disposal "and by the conscientious discharge of our several duties as teachers, our medical school and the general establishment, without privileges or endowments of any kind, have continued to prosper and to gain in public estimation, and in conjunction with King's College, almost to afford the advantages of a University to this great metropolis," and he contemplated the foundation of a metropolitan university when "the founders of this noble institution will see the object of their disinterested ambition realized, and will have the glory of having given the first impulse to an undertaking the most beneficial to their country and to mankind."[2] In 1834 it was reported to have been said, upon the authority of some of the professors themselves, that the petition was for the grant to some central body of the power of conferring degrees.[3]

There was no discussion in the Privy Council after the arguments were closed. Greville "gathered that the impression was unfavourable to the grant of the charter," and nothing was done.[4]

On the 1st of August, 1834, the House of Lords rejected a bill granting to the Dissenters admission to graduation at Oxford and Cambridge, which had been carried by a large majority in the Commons.[5] On the 13th of August the Select Committee on Medical Education made its report. It had taken evidence which fills some six hundred pages, but it said that it had had no time to consider it, and therefore confined itself to reporting the

[1] B. C. Brodie to S. M. Phillips, 14 Feb., 1834. P.R.O., H.O. 44/24.

[2] *London Medical Gazette*, xiii, 18, 19 (5 Oct., 1833), *cf.* 21–2 (5 Oct., 1833), 49–53 (12 Oct., 1833).

[3] *London Medical and Surgical Journal*, v, 407 (26 Apr., 1834); *London Medical Gazette*, xiv, 178 (3 May, 1834).

[4] C. C. F. Greville: *A Journal of the Reigns of King George IV. and King William IV.* Edited by H. Reeve, 3 v., 3rd ed., 1875, iii, 237; P.R.O., H.O. 31/16, No. 32(9), 1835.

[5] *Journals of the House of Lords*, lxvi, 922.

evidence and recommending its own re-appointment in the next session.[1]

It might seem at first sight that the defeat of the Universities Admission Bill should have made smoother the way to incorporation. *The Morning Chronicle* had once said that the attitude of the opposition was "We will not educate you, nor shall you educate yourselves!"[2] The natural corollary of refusal to admit was agreement to incorporate.[3]

Yet it was found possible to maintain a contrary opinion. With the university as a mere place of instruction in this, that, or the other subject, Oxford and Cambridge could feel no concern.[4] That any institution might for its own purposes classify its members as it chose, was readily conceded.[5] That it should choose as the denomination of those classes titles already in use elsewhere was indeed objectionable, but that was still only a private wrong. The serious matter was that it should be proposed that a Christian state should authorise an avowedly irreligious body to distribute titles hitherto recognised as badges of a Christian education. To certify a man's intellectual standing, to rank him in society, without regard to his religious opinions, was a step towards the separation of church and state.[6] "So long as the Dissenters could be regarded as tranquil and conscientious seceders, and might still be met and dealt with as friendly to the safeguards of Christianity, and the fundamental supports of society," their claims might have been leniently

[1] *Journals of the House of Commons*, lxxxix, 595; *Report from the Select Committee appointed to inquire into and consider of the laws, regulations, and usages regarding the Education and Practice of the various Branches of the Medical Profession in the United Kingdom.* H. of C., 602, I–II, of 1834, XIII, 1.

[2] 23 June, 1830, 2 c.

[3] F. C. Parry: *The Dissenters and the Universities; or the Civil Rights of the Dissenters most effectually secured by the erection of a New University*, 1835, 19, 24; *Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd Series, xxvii, 285, 287, 288–9, 298.

[4] W. Sewell: *A Second Letter to a Dissenter on the Opposition of the University of Oxford to the Charter of the London College*, 1834, 3–4, 7–8, 9–10.

[5] *Ibid.*, 19, 23.

[6] *Ibid.*, 17, 21–2, 46, 48, 49; *cf.* G. Pearson: *The Danger of Abrogating the Religious Tests and Subscriptions . . .*, Cambridge, 1834, 23–4.

regarded. The events of 1833–4 had revealed the true state of affairs and had made concessions impossible.[1]

Yet there was progress. Brougham continued to be active in his search for a solution,[2] and Lord Melbourne's administration before its resignation in November, 1834, resolved to grant a charter with a restriction, now, against the grant of degrees in medicine as well as divinity.[3] Peel, in the Tamworth Manifesto, issued in December, 1834, declared

"that if regulations, enforced by public authorities superintending the professions of law and medicine, and the studies connected with them, had the effect of conferring advantages of the nature of civil privileges on one class of the King's subjects from which another was excluded, those regulations ought to undergo modification, with the view of placing all the King's subjects, whatever their religious creeds, upon a footing of perfect equality with respect to any civil privilege."[4]

The university itself was induced to submit to a restriction against granting medical degrees,[5] and, while the reform of medical education was virtually secured, the opposition of the medical schools was thus removed. The latter had clearly carried weight with the Privy Council.[6] It had influenced both Brougham[7] and Russell.[8] Its removal left the issue one between the university upon the one hand and Oxford and Cambridge upon the other. The solution of that conflict in favour of the university was now the only measure

[1] W. Sewell: *A Second Letter* [etc.], 2.

[2] *Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd Series, xxvii, 299–300.

[3] *University of London. Statement of Facts as to Charter. By W. T[ooke]*, 13 *Aug.*, 1835, 1.

[4] *Memoirs by the Right Honourable Sir Robert Peel, Bart., M.P., &c.*, Published by the Trustees of his Papers, 2 v., 1858, ii, 64; *cf.* F. C. Parry: *The Dissenters and the Universities; or the Civil Rights of the Dissenters most effectually secured by the erection of a New University*, 1835, 9–10; E. Denison: *A Review of the State of the Question respecting the Admission of Dissenters to the Universities*, 1835, 47–8.

[5] *University of London. Statement of Facts as to Charter. By W. T[ooke]*, 13 *Aug.*, 1835, 1.

[6] *London Medical Gazette*, xvi, 52–3 (4 Apr., 1835); *Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd Series, xxvii, 299.

[7] *London Medical and Surgical Journal*, v, 439 (3 May, 1834).

[8] *Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd Series, xxvii, 299.

by which the Dissenters were likely to obtain relief in the matter of academic distinctions. The issue thus simplified came to be regarded as "a trial between the ministry and the opposition." [1]

In March, 1835, having applied, without satisfaction, to Peel and to the Home Secretary, Tooke gave notice of a motion for an address to the Crown.[2] The medical teachers were still suspicious,[3] but a paper was circulated containing a statement of the renunciation of the claim to grant medical degrees,[4] and the motion specifically excluded them. On the 26th there was a debate of four hours' duration. The motion was carried against the government by a majority of 110. Its terms were that

"an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, beseeching Him to grant His Royal Charter of Incorporation to the University of *London*, as approved in the year 1831 by the then Law Officers of the Crown, and containing no other restriction than against conferring degrees in divinity and in medicine." [5]

The reply to the Address was received on the 1st of April:

"His Majesty acquaints His faithful Commons, that, having been desirous of giving to this important subject the fullest and most mature consideration, His Majesty referred it, in the course of last year, for examination by the Privy Council, who entered upon an inquiry, the final result of which has not yet been communicated to His Majesty.

His Majesty assures His faithful Commons, that He will call upon the Privy Council, without delay, for a Report of the Proceedings

[1] *London Medical Gazette*, xv, 810 (7 March, 1835); *cf. Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd Series, xxvii, 288–9.

[2] *University of London. Statement of Facts as to Charter. By W. T[ooke]*, 13 *Aug.*, 1835, 1.

[3] *London Medical Gazette*, xv, 810 (7 March, 1835), xvi, 53–4 (4 Apr., 1835); Petition of the Physicians and Surgeons of St. Bartholomew's Hospital ... against granting a Charter to the London University with the power of conferring Medical Degrees, 9 March, 1835. Transcript in the college library.

[4] *Observations and Reasons circulated in support of Mr. Tooke's Motion*, 26 *March*, in *Ann. Rept.*, 1835, 14–6.

[5] *Journals of the House of Commons*, xc, 170; *Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd Series, xxvii, 279–303; *Ann. Rept.*, 1835, 14.

adopted in this matter, in order that His Majesty may be enabled to judge what may be the best mode of carrying into effect the wishes of His faithful Commons in respect of a grant of a Charter to the University of *London*, and what may be the conditions with which such a grant ought to be accompanied." [1]

After a series of defeats on the question of the Irish Church, Sir Robert Peel resigned on the 8th of April.

The action of the Commons produced a curious and interesting constitutional position. The situation is again described by Greville.

"*Friday.* [29 May.]—The Committee of Council met on the matter of the London University; Brougham of course the great performer; the same personages were summoned who had attended before, but great changes had since taken place, which made the assembly curious. There were Melbourne, Lord Lansdowne and certain of his colleagues, Brougham and Lyndhurst—both ex-Chancellors since the last meeting—Richmond, Ripon, Stanley and Graham, the Dilly complete, and Lord Grey. When they came to discuss the matter nobody seemed disposed to move; at last Brougham proposed a resolution 'that the King should be advised to grant a charter making the petitioners an University, the regulations and restrictions to be determined hereafter.' The Bishop of London objected on behalf of King's College to any advantages being conferred on the London University which would place the latter institution in a better condition than the former. After much tedious discussion the words 'university,' &c., were omitted, and the resolution moved was '*to grant a charter.*' The Duke of Richmond formally opposed it, his principal objection being to the insolvent state of the concern. Brougham sat in contemptuous silence for a few minutes while the Duke spoke, and then replied. There was a squabble between them, and an evident inclination on the part of the majority present to refuse the charter, but the address of the Commons with the King's answer were read, which presented a very difficult case to act upon. The King's answer amounted very nearly to an engagement to grant a charter; the Privy Council was bound to decide without reference to the address and answer, and the bias *there* was to advise against the grant. Brougham, after much ineffectual discussion, said in a tone of sarcastic contempt that 'their hesitation and their scruples were ridiculous, for the House of Commons would step in and cut them both short and settle the question.' This is doubt-

[1] *Journals of the House of Commons*, xc, 189.

less true, and he can effect it when he will ; but how monstrous, then, was the vote. The House of Commons had never heard a tittle of the evidence or the argument ; the Council had heard it all, and were bound to report upon it, when the House, while the judgment of the Privy Council was still pending, voted an address to the Crown for the purpose of obtaining an adjudication of the matter one particular way, without reference to the proceedings before the tribunal. They all seemed agreed that if it was expedient to grant a charter it required much consideration to decide under what restrictions and regulations it should be conceded, and Lord Grey declared that if he was called upon, without reference to any proceedings elsewhere, to decide upon the arguments they had heard at the bar, he should decide against giving the charter, but if he were called upon to advise the Crown what under all the circumstances it was expedient to do, his advice might be very different. Graham said he could not divest his mind of the knowledge he possessed of what had passed in the House of Commons, and he thought the Government ought to advise the Crown on its own responsibility what course it was expedient to adopt. After wasting an hour and a half in a very fruitless and not very interesting discussion (everybody looking bored to death except Brougham, who was talking all the time) the Council broke up without doing anything, and agreed to meet again on Friday next [5 June]. Old Eldon was very busy and eager about it, and had all the papers sent to him ; he could not attend, being wholly disabled by the gout. Of course the charter (at least *a* charter) will be given, because the House of Commons in the plenitude of their ignorance, but of their power, have so decided.

June 14th. . . . I did not attend the second meeting of the Privy Council on the London University question. Lord Eldon came to it, and there was some discussion, but without any violence ; it ended by a report to the King, requesting he would dispense with the advice of the Council ; so the matter remains with the Government. It is clear that they would have advised against granting the charter but for the answer which the King made to the address of the House of Commons, which was in fact a *promise* to grant it. This answer was the work of Peel and Goulburn, and I can't imagine what induced them to put such an one into his Majesty's mouth, when they might have so properly made him say that he had referred the matter to the Privy Council, and was waiting for their report." [1]

[1] C. C. F. Greville : *A Journal of the Reigns of King George IV. and King William IV.* Edited by H. Reeve, 3 v., 3rd ed., 1875, iii, 260–3 ; *cf. The Standard*, 27 March, 1835, 4 b–c ; *The Times*, 1 Oct., 1835, 2 b ; P.R.O., P.C. 2/216, ff. 437–9.

The story is continued by Tooke. It was thought that the answer to the Address meant

"that the Charter, with very slight modifications, would be immediately issued by the then Government.

The change of Administration, however, almost immediately afterwards ensued, when the avowed friends of liberal principles, who had so recently voted for the Charter in question, and who in November had resolved to grant it, were restored to office, and the most sanguine expectations were entertained that one of their first acts would be to seal that Charter, the terms of which they themselves had so repeatedly sanctioned; and that the absolute privilege of conferring degrees was contemplated by it, is evident, not only from the restriction against granting them in the two faculties of divinity and medicine, but also from the House of Commons having in their address used these words: '*containing no other restriction than against conferring degrees in divinity and in medicine*'; thereby necessarily implying that all others might be bestowed.

The Charter, however, was not granted: newness in office was first pleaded; and then it was urged that attention should not be diverted from the more important duties of the Session: and these reasons might well have availed had there been ought of real difficulty or doubt in the matter; but when the principle had been so repeatedly acknowledged, the mere act of causing the Great Seal to be affixed to the Charter as prepared, could in no respect tend to divide interest or distract attention.

Three months had elapsed from the period of His Majesty's answer, when, on the 1st of July, the Attorney-General, in answer to a question put to Lord John Russell by Mr. Tooke, stated that the Charter was in preparation, and that he should be happy to receive such assistance as Mr. Tooke might be able to give in forwarding it, but intimated not a word as to any change in the title it should confer on the University of London, or that its undoubted privilege to confer Degrees as an University should be superseded by the creation of any other body for that specific purpose.

Mr. Tooke, in consequence of the intimation so given, tendered his aid to the Attorney-General; and finding from that officer that he had not yet received his full instructions, made repeated applications to the Government, but failed in eliciting any satisfactory information whatever.

In these circumstances, Mr. Tooke, having given previous notice that he should call the attention of the House to the Address and

Answer, was informed in the House, on the 17th of July, by the Attorney-General, that two Charters had been prepared, one in favour of the University of London in the precise form approved in 1831, but reducing its style to that of College, and thereby precluding its granting Degrees; and the other constituting a Metropolitan University, comprising a Board that should have power to examine for and confer Degrees on Students from the existing chartered Colleges in the Metropolis and its vicinity, and from such other Colleges as should hereafter be created by Royal Charter.

Mr. Tooke unhesitatingly expressed his entire dissatisfaction at this arrangement, as altogether at variance with His Majesty's gracious answer, and with the pledges both expressed and implied by the votes and professions of his present Ministers. . . ." [1]

The account bears disappointment written upon it—*Lachrymae Tookianae*, it was dubbed by the *Gazette* [2]—and is not quite ingenuous. As early as December, 1833, the *Athenæum* wrote, "it is, we believe, now decided that degrees shall be conferred in London, not by either the London University or King's College, but on the students from either, by a Board to be specially appointed." [3] This more comprehensive plan was considered by Lord Melbourne's administration in 1834, when the Cabinet contained five members who were or had been on the Council of the university. Warburton, in the debate of the 26th of March, 1826, had expressed his readiness to accept a Metropolitan University.[4] The title of "University College" had been used by the *Lancet* in 1833,[5] and the plan had been canvassed in a pamphlet published in 1835.[6] In point of fact Tooke did not represent the university. The Council obtained an outline of the government's scheme in August, and concurred in it in general principle at their session of the 22nd of that

[1] *University of London. Statement of Facts as to Charter. By W. T[ooke]*, 13 *Aug.*, 1835, 2.

[2] *London Medical Gazette*, xvii, 88 (17 Oct., 1835).

[3] *Athenæum*, 1833, 872 b.

[4] *Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd Series, xxvii, 289.

[5] *Lancet, MDCCCXXXII–XXXIII*, ii, 600.

[6] F. C. Parry: *The Dissenters and the Universities; or the Civil Rights of the Dissenters most effectually secured by the erection of a New University*, 1835, 4–5, 25–9.

month.[1] In October the Senate gave its approval, and in November adopted an *Address* to the Council, prepared by Turner, Malden, and Key, urging the acceptance of the plan.[2] A Special Meeting of the Proprietors was held in the university on the 3rd of December. Brougham presided and four hundred were present. Tooke abandoned his former opposition, and moved:

"That although the meeting believed His Majesty's gracious answer to the Address of the House of Commons of the 26th of March, was calculated to raise expectations of his conferring an independent charter on their University, so as to enable it to grant degrees in all the Faculties excepting those of divinity and medicine, yet his Majesty's Ministers having devised a more comprehensive and efficient plan, embracing all seminaries of the kind for education, and confiding also in the efficiency of the Board of Examiners to be appointed to the new University, and their Institution having nothing to fear from competition with other similar establishments, recommends to the Council gratefully to accept the proposed Charter."

The meeting was generally agreed in its welcome of the new plan, but thought the resolution not sufficiently cordial. It was amended so as to remove the implicit reproach upon the government.[3]

The university watched closely the elaboration of the details of the new constitution.[4] Drafts of the two charters, in which the college was styled "London University College," were presented to the House of Commons in reply to an Address in August, 1836.[5] Some alarm was felt at the close connection between the new university and the state,[6]

[1] *University of London. Papers relating to the Origin of the University . . .* [n.d.], 3.

[2] *University of London. Address of the Senate to the Council on the proposed establishment of a Metropolitan University*, 1835; *Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson.* Edited by T. Sadler, 3 v., 1869, iii, 85.

[3] *The Morning Chronicle*, 3 Dec., 1835, 3 c–e; *Ann. Rept.*, 1837, 4.

[4] *University of London. Papers relating to the Origin of the University . . .* [n.d.]; *Ann. Rept.*, 1837, 5–6.

[5] *Journals of the House of Commons*, xci, 539, 841; *Draft Charters for the University of London and University College.* H. of C., 604 of 1836, XLVII, 43.

[6] *University of London. Statement of Facts as to Charter. By W. T[ooke]*, 13 *Aug.*, 1835, 3, 4; *University of London. Address of the Senate to the Council on the proposed establishment of a Metropolitan University*, 1835, 13–5.

which was shared in other quarters,[1] and a foreign critic subsequently saw in it a sign of the development of the "modern bureaucratically centralized state-system in England," "*nichts Geringeres . . . als der Kern zu einer der université de France entsprechenden Staatsanstalt.*"[2] But it was urged that there was no practicable alternative.[3]

The seal was affixed to the charter on the 28th of November, 1836. What had hitherto been the university became University College, London.[4] Immediately afterwards, upon the same day, was sealed the charter of the new University of London. The college charter differed from the draft only in the change of style. It made no material alteration in the internal constitution of the college. It was formally accepted by the Proprietors at meetings held on the 28th of January and the 8th of April, 1837.[5] The charter to the new university established a body to be known as the University of London, empowered to grant degrees in Arts, Laws, and Medicine, after examination, to candidates holding certificates of having completed a course of instruction at University College, King's College, and such other institutions as might hereafter be approved for the purpose.[6]

[1] *London Medical Gazette*, xix, 464 (24 Dec., 1836); *The Times*, 15 Dec., 1836, 3 c.

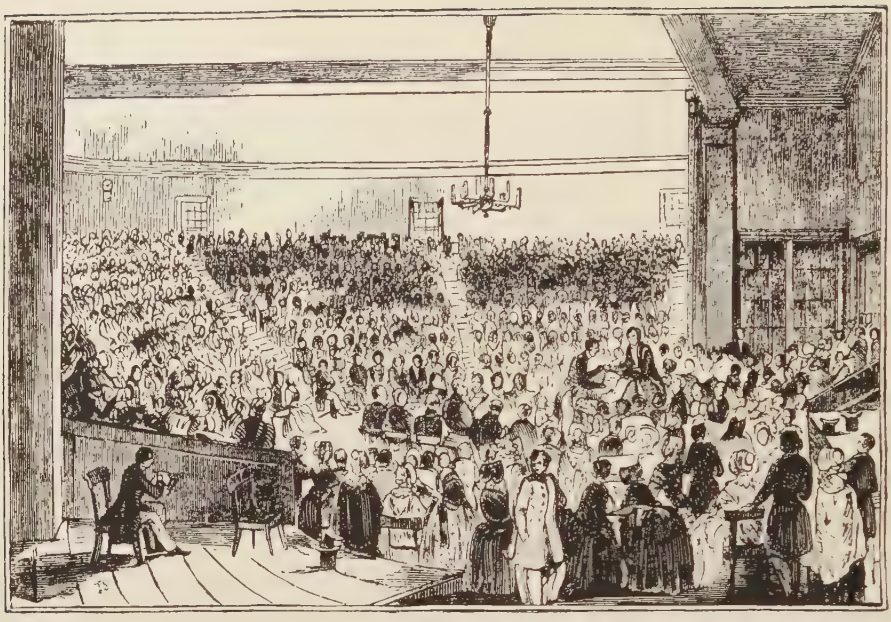
[2] V. A. Huber: *Die Englischen Universitäten*, 2 v., Cassel, 1839, ii, 551, 551 n.; *The English Universities. From the German of V. A. Huber . . . an abridged translation.* Edited by Francis W. Newman, 2 v., 1843, ii, 417–8.

[3] *University of London. Address of the Senate to the Council on the proposed establishment of a Metropolitan University*, 1835, 13–5.

[4] *Ann. Rept.*, 1837, 12–7; *Charter of Incorporation granted to University College, London.* H. of C., 90 of 1837, XXXIX, 517.

[5] *Ann. Rept.*, 1837, 5, 1838, 12.

[6] *Charter granted by His Majesty to the University of London.* H. of C., 89 of 1837, XXXIX, 513.



DISTRIBUTION OF PRIZES AT UNIVERSITY COLLEGE.
FACULTY OF MEDICINE.

From *The Pictorial Times,* 6 May, 1843.

CHAPTER VIII

THE STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE: 1840–1860

It was the opinion of Sir Henry Roscoe that "University College, London, in the late 'forties and early 'fifties, was at the heyday of its usefulness and prosperity."[1] But those were his own student days. A less partial retrospect suggests a more sober judgment. In the twenty-five years which followed incorporation there was little growth in numbers, wealth, or buildings, and although there was a steady advance in reputation the promise of the first years was barely fulfilled. "Our prospects," wrote Crabb Robinson in 1852, "are not bright, nor are they very gloomy; we have taken a place, humble indeed, but it is still a place—among the institutions of the country," but, he added in a note to another passage in his diary, "the College is far from having yet answered the great purposes originally announced."[2] His anticipations of its success had not been realised, or anything like realised, said Brougham in 1846.[3] Had its career come to an end in the early 'sixties, the student of its fortunes would have seen it at the close but little changed in outward appearance from what it was in 1828, and might not unreasonably have read the story as one of a slow decline.

There has yet been no sufficient study of the educational history of the century to render possible a full analysis of the external causes which may have contributed to ill-fortune, but some of the factors are obvious. It is often said that the college has flourished upon the errors of its contemporaries. When they mend their ways it has to

[1] *The Life and Experiences of Sir Henry Enfield Roscoe . . .* Written by Himself, 1906, 24.

[2] *Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson.* Edited by Thomas Sadler, 3 v., 1869, iii, 397, ii, 391 n.

[3] *The Times*, 21 May, 1846, 8 a.

look to its laurels, and in the middle of last century it was rapidly ceasing to enjoy that monopoly of enlightenment which its friends would claim for it in 1828. The hospital schools rapidly responded to the advance of medical education. Legal education was undertaken by the Law Society in 1833, and tentative efforts were made in the same direction by the Inns of Court in 1834, to reach more considerable proportions in the 'fifties.[1] The stirring of the new ideas is marked at Cambridge by the reform of the Classical Tripos in 1850 and the establishment of the Natural Sciences Tripos in the same year, and of the Moral Sciences Tripos in 1851, and at Oxford the Act of 1854[2] removed religious tests at matriculation and the first degree, and ushered in a period of general reform. The college inevitably lost much of the distinction which it had enjoyed when it was opened, and, a matter which was perhaps of more material account, it ceased to be the only place of higher education in England which admitted dissenters from the established church. There was a visible decline in enthusiasm.[3]

The London Mechanics' Institution, it may be noted, experienced a similar loss of support and passed through a similar and contemporary period of depression.[4]

But if there were influences at work over which it had no control, the college itself must also bear no small part of the burden of responsibility. Arbitrary government and financial mismanagement account for much. Within ten years of opening, the university lost nineteen out of its original staff of twenty-seven, although three of these returned. Death took Turner and Bennett, and Gilchrist may be set aside as having never in effect fulfilled his office. One was dismissed, and another taken unexpectedly at his word when he had not really intended to go. The reasons for Conolly's resignation

[1] *Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Arrangements in the Inns of Court and Inns of Chancery, for promoting the Study of the Law and Jurisprudence ; together with Appendices.* [Command paper] 1998, 206, 234–5, 240–1, 249–52. H. of C., 1854–5, XVIII, 345.

[2] 17 & 18 Vict. c. LXXXI.

[3] *Report from the Select Committee on Legal Education together with Minutes of Evidence* [etc.]. H. of C., 686 of 1846, X, 32–3.

[4] C. D. Burns: *A Short History of Birkbeck College*, 1924, 60, 81–2.

are obscure.[1] Political changes removed Galiano and von Mühlenfels. Dale was presented to a living, and Panizzi obtained another post. Of the rest, Bell, Long, De Morgan, and Rosen resigned out of disgust with the action of the Council, while McCulloch, Austin, Lardner, and Amos went because they were unable or unwilling to remain at the salaries which they received, and although Watson was influenced by circumstances at the Middlesex Hospital, he said that apart from those he too would have been unwilling to go on without a guarantee of remuneration.[2] To this it may be added that Turner had thought of resigning for the same reason, that Grant, who remained, was constrained by the exiguity of his income to devote a very large part of his energies to extra-mural work,[3] that only the extraordinary vigour of De Morgan saved him from becoming for the same reason as inefficient as Grant, that Rosen, just before his death, had made up his mind to return to Germany, and that Long resigned a second time in 1846. A few of these losses were not to be regretted, but most of them were very serious. And they had been accompanied by quarrels which acquired a wide and most damaging notoriety. No institution can suffer such an experience with impunity.

The doctrinaire opinions which guided financial policy in the early years were, it is true, abandoned under the stress of these events. But the parsimony which was a matter of principle in the 'twenties became, in the 'forties, a matter of necessity, and the fortunes of the professors were slow to mend. As early as 1833 it was recognised that the higher branches of learning could not be expected to pay their own way.[4] In the 'forties the insufficiency of the fee revenue, of even the more generally attended classes, to attract and retain the services of men of the required character was acknowledged, and the policy of guarantees was revived.[5] But means were still so scanty in 1847 that Crabb Robinson could not, as a member of the Council, encourage Miss Denman to hope

[1] *Cf.* Corres., Box xxviii, *s.v.*

[2] Corres., No. 2413.

[3] *Cf.* Corres., No. 4166.

[4] *Ann. Gen. Meeting*, 1833, 2–3; *Ann. Rept.*, 1833, 12–3.

[5] *Ann. Rept.*, 1840, 9, 1843, 6, 1845, 7, 8, 1846, 8, 1847, 8, 1849, 8.

that the college could so much as find the money to floor the gallery in which were to be placed the Flaxman sculptures,[1] and things did not begin to improve until 1853.[2]

Whether on this account or some other, there can be little doubt but that, in a considerable part of the area of its activities, the middle years of the century were for the college a period of stagnation.

In two departments alone, those of Chemistry and of English, was new work of the first importance being done. There were a few new departures, among which are to be reckoned the foundation of the chairs of Architecture, of Engineering, and of Geology. For the rest, in the Faculty of Arts and Laws, save for the revival of oriental studies and the steadily continued work of De Morgan, Key, Malden, Graham, and Lindley, there is not very much which is notable, and in the Faculty of Medicine, in spite of the appointment of many brilliant men and the output of much original work, the period was marked by a decline in the number of students.

i. The Faculty of Arts and Laws

The study of philosophy languished under the sterile influence of Hoppus, and the newly-established university did little to supply the stimulus which was lacking in the college.[3] The teaching of political economy ceased entirely for several years, and was only revived by the acceptance of the proposal of Jacob Waley,[4] a former and very brilliant student of the college, to deliver a course of lectures on the subject in the spring of 1854, and by his subsequent appointment as professor.[5] But Waley had a large conveyancing practice and many other avocations, and in spite of his great ability, left no mark upon the history of economics. Legal studies were hardly more prosperous. Of the five professors of law appointed between 1840 and 1860, C. J. Hargreave,[6] professor of Jurisprudence from 1843 to 1849, was alone a man of

[1] P. W. Clayden: *Rogers and his Contemporaries*, 2 v., 1889, ii, 316; *cf. Ann. Rept.*, 1852, 8.

[2] *Ann. Rept.*, 1853, 8, 1855, 11.

[3] *Philosophical Remains of George Croom Robertson* . . . Edited by A. Bain . . . and T. Whittaker, 1894, 172–3.

[4] *D.N.B.* [5] *Ann. Rept.*, 1853, 6, 1855, 8. [6] *D.N.B.*

any real eminence, but he was only twenty-three years of age when he was elected, and was soon attracted to more profitable courses.[1] In geography there was no successor to Maconochie until 1903, and in history, and the study of modern languages, the early promise remained unfulfilled. There was weakness in the department of Latin and sheer incompetence in that of Natural Philosophy, and the development of English studies did not begin until 1852. Many of the chairs became in effect part-time appointments, the duties of which were fulfilled by the occasional appearance of men deeply engaged in other pursuits, and while it is clear that the Council was unable to retain even the casual services of the more able of the younger men whom it employed, there was no superannuation fund to provide for those who had lost the vigour of their youth.

The chair of History was occupied by a distinguished scholar, E. S. Creasy,[2] who succeeded Vaughan in 1840, but he had less in common than his predecessor with that school of historians which was to alter so profoundly the position of their subject among humane studies, and he did little more than keep it barely alive. Educated at Eton and Cambridge, a lawyer by profession, who left the college in 1860 to become chief justice of Ceylon, he was interested rather in the use of history as an instrument for the training of citizens and public servants than in its development as a science, and, although he is known to fame only as a military writer and the author of *The Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World*, himself regarded as his most important duty the inculcation of sound notions upon legal and constitutional development. He was accustomed to deliver three courses a year, one each on Greek, Roman, and English history. Jevons seems to have found the lectures interesting, but the hour of 8 o'clock in the morning, at which they were delivered, was a discouragement, and the classes remained small.[3]

[1] *Cf.* Professor A. F. Murison: The College Record in Legal Studies [Typescript in the college library], ff. 7–8, 10. [2] *D.N.B.*

[3] *Report from the Select Committee on Legal Education together with the Minutes of Evidence* [etc.]. H. of C., 686 of 1846, 25–39, X, 1; *Letters and Journal of W. Stanley Jevons.* Edited by his Wife, 1886, 26, 32.

In the field of modern languages the early hope that their study might be raised to that place to which it was entitled among the other subjects of university education was disappointed. The classes in Spanish ceased altogether.[1] In French, Merlet, although he had been promoted to the title of professor, remained a mere teacher of the language, and the case of German was no better. The professorship which had lapsed on the resignation of von Mühlenfels was revived in 1848,[2] but the successful candidate, Adolph Heimann, who had for several years taught German in the Junior School and had more recently acted as deputy for Wittich during his illness, has no better title to fame than that he was an intimate member of the Rossetti circle and a teacher of Dante Gabriel.[3] The professors of Italian were not more learned, although they were more picturesque. Pepoli, the successor of Panizzi, was himself succeeded in 1847 by Antonio Carlo Napoleone Gallenga.[4]

[5] "He was a remarkable personality, if not precisely the stuff of which professors are usually made. Born at Parma in 1810, he took part in the insurrection of 1831, and escaped under the name of Luigi Mariotti, which he retained for many years. Having joined the Young Italy association, he made his way from Corsica in 1833 to Mazzini at Geneva, and, moved by the sight of Signora Ruffini, whose son Jacopo had committed suicide in prison, undertook to assassinate the King of Sardinia, Carlo Alberto. Mazzini, who was then preparing the expedition into Savoy, assented, after some hesitation; but Gallenga, though he went to Turin, did not carry out the design. In 1836 he went to America, where he taught and lectured, and was encouraged by the friendship of Longfellow. In 1839 he came to England, still as Mariotti, and in 1841 published his first important work, *Italy: General Views of its History and Literature in reference to its present state.* In 1848

[1] *Ann. Rept.*, 1852, 6. [2] *Ibid.*, 1849, 7.

[3] L. A. Willoughby: *Dante Gabriel Rossetti and German Literature*, 1912, 8–10; F. Althaus: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Colonie in England. II. Die Lehrer*, in *Unsere Zeit. Deutsche Revue der Gegenwart . . .*, Neue Folge, 9 Jahrg., 1 Hälfte, Leipzig, 1873, 544; W. M. Rossetti: *Dante Gabriel Rossetti. His Family Letters*, 2 v., 1895, i, 87, 104.

[4] *D.N.B., Suppl.*; A. Gallenga: *Episodes of my Second Life*, 2 v., 1884.

[5] Professor E. G. Gardner: Department of Italian [Typescript in the college library], ff. 4–5.

he was appointed professor. On the outbreak of the national uprising in the following year, he accompanied Mazzini to Italy. He entered the Piedmontese army as a volunteer, wrote in the *Risorgimento*, and went on a diplomatic mission to Frankfort. From this time dates his rupture with Mazzini. . . . In 1854 he was elected deputy for the 'college' of Cavour in the Subalpine Parliament. On the publication of the Italian translation of his *History of Piedmont*, it was realised that, in the last volume, he had told the story of a youth who came to Turin in 1833 '*sotto mentito nome di Luigi Mariotti*' to avenge the death of Ruffini upon Carlo Alberto. Mazzini, who regarded Gallenga as a deserter from the republican cause, promptly published his own version of the affair, and, though Victor Emmanuel took the revelation sensibly, Gallenga was furiously attacked, sent back his decoration, and resigned his seat. In 1858 he resigned the professorship at University College: 'a place,' he says, 'which turned out a mere sinecure from the beginning, and which I resigned, without ever being much burdened with its duties or enriched by its emoluments.' He returned to the Italian chamber as deputy for Castellamonte in 1860. From 1859 he was associated with *The Times*, which he represented with Garibaldi at Palermo and in Calabria in 1860, and later in Denmark and on missions to South America, Russia, and elsewhere. These expeditions resulted in a number of volumes, including *The Invasion of Denmark* in 1864, *Two Years of the Eastern Question*, 1877, *South America*, 1880, *A Summer Tour in Russia*, 1882, *Iberian Reminiscences*, 1883, *Italy, Present and Future*, 1887. Among them is his interesting and entertaining autobiography, *Episodes of my Second Life*, 1884. He died at Llandogo in 1895.

Count Carlo Arrivabene, who had fought at Venice in 1848, acted as deputy professor during the absence of Gallenga in Italy, and in 1855 published in that capacity an excellent anthology, *I Poeti Italiani, Selections from the Italian Poets forming a historical view of the development of Italian Poetry from the earliest times to the present, with biographical notes.* He succeeded to the chair on Gallenga's resignation and held it until 1861. His *Italy under Victor Emmanuel*, 1862, is a personal narrative of events from the beginning of the third war of liberation to the death of Cavour. In 1865 he published, in the form of a letter to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, *The Finances of Italy*, to convince the British public that 'the alarm felt in England as to the future of our Italian finance is totally unfounded and groundless.'"

While the serious study of modern languages was thus in abeyance, the chair of Latin was occupied by a figure almost

as picturesque as Gallenga, but of equally small account in the history of scholarship, when George Long was succeeded in 1846 by F. W. Newman.

F. W. Newman[1] was altogether a strange figure, as eccentric in outward seeming as he was in opinion. A man of naturally striking appearance he made himself doubly conspicuous by the oddity of his garments. "He was of middle stature," wrote Sir Alfred Wills, "very well made, with a face that always reminded me of the type of the North American Indian. . . . His complexion was dark, his hair very black and with no tendency to curl, and he wore it long, and his nose was aquiline. He differed from the Indian type, however, in that his face was rather narrow than broad."[2] The suggestion of a something transatlantic was increased by a Jonathan beard. With a soft felt hat, white or light grey, with a very broad brim, set far back on his head, a high Gladstone collar, and a black and white shepherd's-plaid scarf wound round his neck, he wore, in dirty winter weather, trousers of which the lower six or eight inches were of black leather and an outer garment consisting of a rug with a hole in the middle through which to put his head. "I never can understand," it is told he once said, "how it is that my hat always interests the idle little boys in the street. They say as I pass them, 'Where did you get that hat?' Everyone wears a hat of one shape or another, and I really fail to see why *mine* should be so very interesting."[3] To a peculiar appearance he added, with a particularly clear voice, a formal, deliberate, doubtful, as it seemed, rather affected, manner of speech, and a guileless ignorance of slang.[4] Commenting once upon the concurrence of the language of Plautus and Cicero, he is reported to have said by way of an instance of the same sort, "I am credibly

[1] *D.N.B., Suppl.; Bulletin*, v, 1927–8, 121.

[2] I. Giberne Sieveking: *Memoir and Letters of Francis W. Newman*, 1909, 106.

[3] *Ibid.*, 107, 113, 120, 125–6; *The Life and Experiences of Sir Henry Enfield Roscoe . . .* Written by Himself, 1906, 26.

[4] I. Giberne Sieveking: *Memoir and Letters of Francis W. Newman*, 1909, 113–4, 117, 120.

informed that to thousands of our fellow countrymen a shilling is habitually known by the name of a 'bob.'"[1]

All this outward eccentricity was a true reflection of the inner man. To be in direct conflict with current opinion, he himself said was to be in his element.[2] To lay great store by what to most people appear to be small matters, and to draw from them large conclusions, was a character of his mind. He condemned the great development of urban life which marks our times. But the ground of his opinion was that he disapproved, upon principle, of drains, and that he was constrained to recognise that towns without drains would be unpleasant. He speculated whether a necessary preliminary to any serious attempt to grapple with the problem of the National Debt might not be the abolition of foreign embassies. He foresaw untold benefits for mankind in abstention from tobacco, alcohol, the eating of flesh, and the practice of vaccination.[3] He set off in 1830 in company with J. V. Parnell, afterwards Lord Congleton, a widower, Doctor Cronin, and the latter's mother, sister, and infant child, upon an entirely fruitless missionary expedition to the Near East, in the course of which, riding from Ladakîa to Bagdad, with a small library of books and a lithographic press for the issue of tracts, but in all other respects totally unprepared, the two women and the child died by the way. Incapable of orthodoxy, brilliant, rapid, audacious, thought-kindling, as he has been called,[4] he never succeeded in establishing a fit proportion between the means and the end.

All these qualities, both good and bad, appeared in his teaching. At the start his lectures were brilliant: before he resigned they had become neglected for the multitude of political, social, and theological interests with which he became absorbed in London. Sir Alfred Wills heard him in his first year at college. "During the whole of the session

[1] J. E. Odgers to the Provost, 26 March, 1925 [MS. in the college library], f. 4.

[2] I. Giberne Sieveking: *Memoir and Letters of Francis W. Newman*, 1909, 139.

[3] *Ibid.*, 71, 72–3, 117, 200–1, 203.

[4] T. Hodgkin: *University College, London, Fifty Years ago*, in *The Northerner*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1901, i, 77.

1846–7," he wrote, "Newman's lectures were the wonder of all who heard him. We read with him some of Cicero's letters to Atticus, and his stores of information of every description—antiquarian, philological, historical, and literary —were absolutely marvellous . . . We all felt we had secured for the college an intellectual giant . . . It seemed as if no trouble was too great for him to take in preparing for them and as if nothing which could throw any light upon a set of letters, which are often obscure and difficult, ever escaped his eagle eye or his profound research." But, he added, "when I returned to college in 1848, I met with a profound disappointment . . . the lectures of that session presented a marked contrast to those of the earlier session, and I don't think I am exaggerating when I say that they were dry and jejune to the last extent."[1] The change may have been partly in Wills, for Sir Edward Fry recalled the same course as being very interesting and stimulating, but, be that as it may, the numbers in his classes declined.[2] "Somehow," wrote Hodgkin, "he did not easily get in touch with the minds of the students, and he was certainly not the most popular of the Professors . . . [and] for some reason or other, though a man of striking and engaging personality, he was less successful in keeping order in his class than the shy and scholarly Malden."[3] He wearied of his work and resigned in 1863.

In the department of English, in spite of the great name of Arthur Hugh Clough, there was little vigour until the appointment of Masson in 1852. Latham was succeeded in 1845 by Tom Taylor.[4] He had just left Cambridge, where he had been working as a 'coach' since he took his degree in 1840, and there is a description of him in an account of Cambridge published by an American in 1852.

"At the head of the table sits our worthy 'coach,' Tom Travis. His fine person is not displayed to full advantage in a loose plaid shooting-coat, and his very intellectual but decidedly ugly features are far from

[1] I. Giberne Sieveking: *Memoir and Letters of Francis W. Newman*, 1909, 108–9.

[2] *Ibid.*, 112, 114.

[3] T. Hodgkin: *University College, London, Fifty Years Ago*, in *The Northerner*, Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1901, i, 77; *cf.* I. Giberne Sieveking: *Memoir and Letters of Francis W. Newman*, 1909, 111.

[4] *D.N.B.*

being improved by a black wool smoking cap of surpassing hideousness. Take him as he is, he is a rare fellow—with American versatility and English thoroughness. He knows nearly a dozen ancient and modern languages, more or less correctly, and when you bring him out on Greek he would astonish a room-full of Yankee Professors. His mathematics are decidedly *minus*, but the use for them is past long ago. Two years ago he got up enough of his low subjects to go out among the Junior Ops, and then the way was easy to a high First Class in the Tripos; and, as he is well up in metaphysics, you may count on him for a Fellowship, probably his second trial. And after that what will he do? He is gay; a puritan might call him dissipated, but it is not wickedness aforethought, but an incurable passion for seeing *character* which drags him into all sorts of society—once he went off among the gipsies, Borrow-fashion, and stayed there long enough to learn their lingo. He is independent in politics and *juste milieu* (by his own account) in church matters, very fond of law and equally so of theology—fonder of the theatre than either. Perhaps he will be a nominal barrister and an actual writer for Punch and the Magazines. Perhaps he will go quite mad and write a tragedy. Perhaps some of his liberal friends at 'the University we've got in town,' profanely called *Stinkomalee* by Oxonians and Cantabs, will make him Professor of Greek—or English or Zincali, it's all the same to him—in that great institution. Or perhaps . . . he will stay here for three or four years as an M.A. pupillizing constantly, and his clothes will gradually grow blacker and his cravat whiter, till some day there will be stuck up on the Hall screen a small notice to the effect that 'Mr. Travis requests the college testimonials for orders.' And after all there are worse parsons than he would make—yea, even in old Connecticut—for there is great earnestness in the man and benevolence extraordinary; he takes much interest in the poor and is very generous to them—too generous indeed, for he sometimes gives them his tradesmen's money—and he always minds his own business, but to be sure that is not so rare and Phœnix-like a virtue as with us. Any of these things Tom Travis may be (I ought not to omit the opinion of his *gyp*, who holds him in absolute veneration, that 'Mr. Travis will leave the college a Fellow, and come back a Judge'), at present he is a Bachelor Scholar and a 'coach' of rising reputation." [1]

He was called to the bar within a year of his appointment to the professorship, and in 1848 resigned the chair to devote himself more fully to his growing practice. Civil servant,

[1] C. A. Bristed: *Five Years in an English University*, 2 v., N.Y., 1852, i, 70–2.

journalist, art critic, dramatist, and finally editor of *Punch*, he had already proved at Cambridge that he could also have been a very successful teacher. But his time at the college was too short, and he was already too much preoccupied with other interests to exercise much influence upon the growth of the department, and it is rather to social and to literary than to academic history that there belongs that personality celebrated by Meredith,—

> "The tender humour and the fire of sense
> In your good eyes; how full of heart for all,
> And chiefly for the weaker by the wall,
> You bore that lamp of sane benevolence." [1]

Taylor came to the college at almost the outset of his career. His successor, A. J. Scott,[2] was a man of mature years and established reputation. A graduate of Glasgow, licensed by the presbytery of Paisley to preach in the church of Scotland, he had at one time been closely associated with Irving, but had been alienated from him by his later extravagances. Invited in 1830 to the pastorate of the Scottish church at Woolwich, he objected to subscribe the Westminster confession of faith and was charged with heresy and deprived of his licence, but remained at Woolwich as minister of a small congregation until 1846, when he began to preach at the Marylebone Literary Institute. Among his friends and occasional hearers were Maurice, Carlyle, Thackeray, and John Kemble. A lover of music, he was the intimate of Chopin. He was a preacher of remarkable eloquence, and Crabb Robinson speaks of his lectures with great respect.[3] But Sir Henry Roscoe looked back a little ruefully upon his experience of him as a teacher.

"His subject . . . was Anglo-Saxon, and after explaining to us the construction of the larynx he proceeded to instruct us very fluently in the history of Beowulf, Bede, and others, giving us some

[1] *The Poetical Works of George Meredith*, 1912, 568.

[2] *D.N.B.*; M. J. Shaen: *Memorials of Two Sisters Susanna and Catherine Winkworth*, 1908, 43–5.

[3] *Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson.* Edited by Thomas Sadler, 3 v., 1869, iii, 470.

illustrations of the Anglo-Saxon language. He was, however, very prosy and lengthy, and the end of the session came before he had finished the Anglo-Saxon period. Next year the course announced was the literature of the Elizabethan era ; this I thought would be extremely interesting, and consequently I entered the class, though I was much occupied with other subjects. On the first day, however, Scott looked round the class and said : ' I see there are a number of gentlemen present who did not hear my lectures last session on Anglo-Saxon, and as the knowledge of this portion of English literature is necessary for a proper appreciation of subsequent periods, I propose to devote a few lectures to the study of Beowulf' . . . almost the whole of the session was taken up as before with Anglo-Saxon." [1]

In 1850, Scott left to become first Principal of Owens College, Manchester. He was succeeded by Arthur Hugh Clough,[2] who had been a candidate in 1848.[3]

Clough had already been appointed in 1849 principal of University Hall, an institution to the history of which it will presently be necessary to return. There he was out of his element. His appointment to the chair of English Language and Literature added very little to his satisfaction. He seems not to have been an effective lecturer : Jevons at any rate found him dull.[4] His earnings amounted to about £30 a year.[5] He made his excuses to a correspondent in June, 1850, since he must go " to the fiddle de dee of prize giving at Univ. Coll. . . . " [6] The only thing upon which he seems to have looked back with any satisfaction is an ethics class of some five youths which he contrived to hold in 1851.[7] Among the five were Thomas Hodgkin and Edward Fry.[8]

[1] *The Life and Experiences of Sir Henry Enfield Roscoe* . . . Written by Himself, 1906, 27.

[2] *D.N.B.; Bulletin*, v, 1927–8, 118.

[3] A. P. Stanley to Henry Crabb Robinson, 4 Oct., 1848. Crabb Robinson MSS., Letters, 1848.

[4] *Letters and Journal of W. Stanley Jevons.* Edited by his Wife, 1886, 22.

[5] *Prose Remains of Arthur Hugh Clough. With a Selection from his Letters and a Memoir.* Edited by his Wife, 1888, 184.

[6] H. A. C. to J. C. Shairp, 20 June, 1850. Clough MSS.

[7] *Prose Remains of Arthur Hugh Clough. With a Selection from his Letters and a Memoir.* Edited by his Wife, 1888, 209.

[8] L. Creighton : *Life and Letters of Thomas Hodgkin*, 1917, 19–20 ; Agnes Fry : *Memoir of the Right Hon. Sir Edward Fry*, 1921, 42.

The years which he spent in London were probably the most dreary in his life. Having chosen education as a career, his scruples had led him to cut himself off from his best chances of promotion. The discomfort of his position at University Hall and the meagre results of his work at college filled him with a sense of failure. He was more lonely than he had been in Oxford. He was familiar with the Carlyles, and he became intimate with Bagehot.[1] The latter was on the governing body of the hall, and he saw a good deal of him.[2] But the former lived a long way away. He saw something of Newman and of Crabb Robinson.[3] There is no evidence that he formed an intimacy with any of his colleagues: in his letters they are not mentioned. Alone at the age of thirty-two in lodgings in Bloomsbury, with a brilliant career at school and college behind him, sceptical of the faith in which he had been brought up and cut off from the scene of his successes, with very little money, considerable responsibilities, and a sensitive, reserved, and peculiarly scrupulous mind, it is not strange that he should have been discouraged. He left in the autumn of 1852, to try his fortune in America.

To this tale of the loss of able men and the survival of mediocrity there is yet another failure to be added. With a short interval in 1843–4, when he was at King's College, Toronto, the chair of Natural Philosophy was held from 1841 to 1865 by Richard Potter,[4] who proved himself to be a quite incompetent teacher. Starting life in business in Manchester, he made his mark in the scientific world with an article on metallic mirrors contributed to Brewster's *Scientific Journal* in 1830 and a series of papers read at the meetings of the British Association between 1831 and 1833, and was encouraged to go up to Cambridge, where he turned to the study of medicine. He proceeded M.A. in 1841, and was appointed

[1] *Prose Remains of Arthur Hugh Clough. With a Selection from his Letters and a Memoir.* Edited by his Wife, 1888, 170, 174–5, 202, 204; Mrs. Russell Barrington: *Life of Walter Bagehot*, 1914, 183.

[2] W. Bagehot: *Literary Studies.* Edited by R. H. Hutton, 2 v., 1884, i, p. xxxiv.

[3] *Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson.* Edited by Thomas Sadler, 3 v., 1869, iii, 346.

[4] *D.N.B.*

to the chair at the college in that year. "He was a keen experimentalist, as is shown by his fifty-nine papers, chiefly in connection with optics. He was essentially, however, a man of the previous generation, and was unable to assimilate the developments which had taken place since the latter part of the eighteenth century." [1] In the early 'fifties Jevons found him very dull but still a good experimentalist.[2] By the 'sixties his incompetence had become notorious. Recalling him in 1921, Dr. Bourne Benson said:

"The professor was the dearest of old gentlemen with long, silky, silver grey hair, a winning smile, and a very gentle deprecatory manner. . . . But as a teacher in my day, he had one fatal defect. He was worn out, he had lost his memory and not a few of his wits. In his experimental class he was mercilessly ragged. I have seen him snowballed in his lecture-room, I have seen him sprayed. His only retort was a deprecatory gesture which meant 'How could you?'; and all he said was 'Gentlemen, gentlemen.' The apparatus was as worn out as the professor. It never did what it was expected to do. Magnetic force, for example, would be demonstrated experimentally by holding a needle to what might once have been a magnet, but had ceased to attract, whilst the professor said, 'You see it wants a little helping, gentlemen.' In his mathematical class the professor was dependent upon his book. Sometimes, ashamed of copying, he would attempt a few lines on his own, and get hopelessly involved. In despair he would return to his book and copy the conclusion at the bottom. Some unkind student would point out a *non sequitur* in the middle. The dear old man, with a puzzled look, would glance from the blackboard to his book and from his book to the blackboard, and then turn to his class with an air of triumph and say, 'But, gentlemen, you see the conclusion is correct. It is a case of compensation of errors.'" [3]

Against this record of so much which is perilously near to failure is to be set an increased activity in the study of oriental languages, the foundation of three new chairs in the

[1] Professor A. W. Porter: Department of Physics [Typescript in the college library], ff. 3–4.

[2] *Letters and Journal of W. Stanley Jevons.* Edited by his Wife, 1886, 30, 32, 35.

[3] J. B. Benson: Some Recollections of University College in the Sixties [Typescript in the college library], f. 1; *cf. The Life and Experiences of Sir Henry Enfield Roscoe . . .* Written by Himself, 1906, 29; S. E. De Morgan: *Memoir of Augustus De Morgan*, 1882, 119.

Faculty of Arts and Laws in 1840 and 1841, and the beginning of what proved in the end to be a great revival, under which head must be reckoned the addition of some notable recruits to the staff of the medical school, the appointment of A. W. Williamson to the chairs of Practical Chemistry in 1849, and of Chemistry in 1855, and that of David Masson to the chair of English in 1854.

The revival of the study of oriental languages was due to the institution of examinations for the Civil Service and for the civil and medical services of the East India Company. As early as 1827, James Yates had suggested that the new university had a part to play in the training of the company's servants.[1] Under the stimulus of the new regulations, the college, in the session 1854–5, took into consideration the propriety of making special provision for Civil Service students. It determined that the courses of instruction already provided were sufficient save in oriental languages. The chair of Sanskrit, which had been allowed to lapse on the death of Rosen, had been revived by the election of Goldstücker in 1852.[2] A new appointment was now made to the chair of Arabic and Persian, vacant since the resignation of Falconer in 1846, and chairs were established in Hindustani and Telugu, Tamil, and Gujaráti,[3] while lectures on Indian history were given by Creasy. In association with this work the college also hoped to attract in the course of time an increasing number of native Indian students.[4]

James Yates was also one of the first to suggest the establishment of a chair of Architecture.[5] Such a chair had been established at the Royal Academy in 1768,[6] and one under

[1] J. Yates: *Thoughts on the Advancement of Academical Education in England*, 2nd ed., 1827, 60 n.

[2] *Ann. Rept.*, 1853, 6; *D.N.B.*; F. Althaus: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Colonie in England. I. Orientalisten*, in *Unsere Zeit. Deutsche Revue der Gegenwart*, . . . Neue Folge, 9 Jahrg., 1 Hälfte, Leipzig, 1873, 437–8.

[3] *Ann. Rept.*, 1855, 8–9, 1856, 7, 8, 1857, 9–10.

[4] *Cf. Ann. Rept.*, 1846, 5, 1848, 6, 1855, 7, 1857, 6; *The Times*, 21 May, 1846, 8 b.

[5] J. Yates: *Thoughts on the Advancement of Academical Education in England*, 2nd ed., 1827, 91–3.

[6] W. Sandby: *The History of the Royal Academy of Arts*, 2 v., 1862, i, 53, 56.

the title of the Arts of Construction was founded at King's College in 1840. That at University College was established in 1841 at the suggestion of William Inwood,[1] the architect, who, among other works, designed St. Pancras New Church. The first professor to be appointed was T. L. Donaldson.[2] The son of an architect and district surveyor, he was a man of forty-six at the time of his election. After a brief experience as a clerk in the office of a merchant at the Cape of Good Hope and as a volunteer in an expedition against the island of Mauritius in 1810 which was forestalled by the capitulation of the French, he had returned to study architecture in his father's office and at the Academy schools, and after an extensive tour in Italy and Greece, had acquired a good practice, his first important work being the church of Holy Trinity, South Kensington, built in 1826–9. He was described by one of his pupils, who later succeeded to his chair, as "full of learning, ready of speech, indefatigable both as a student and teacher; but . . . deficient in precision, though the fulness and variety of his knowledge went far to atone for some want of exactness." [3]

A pioneer in the academic study of architecture he had to plan a system of work and to devise his own methods. He divided his subject into architecture as a fine art, which he treated in an historical point of view, and architecture as a science.[4] He was an excellent draughtsman, and his lectures were lavishly illustrated with numberless drawings and diagrams, his collection of which is now one of the most valued of the possessions of the school. On occasion he would resort to more practical methods, such as the introduction of a bricklayer and a hodful of bricks to demonstrate the construction of brick walls. He always dressed in professional black, and always lectured in his gown.[5] Among his more

[1] *D.N.B.*; Minutes, iii, 7 Nov., 1840; *Ann. Rept.*, 1842, 6.

[2] *D.N.B.*; *Bulletin*, v, 1927-8, 118; Professor F. M. Simpson: Report on School of Architecture [Typescript in the college library], ff. 1–2; Professor A. E. Richardson: School of Architecture [Typescript in the college library], ff. 2–3.

[3] *Notes*, 68.

[4] T. L. Donaldson: *Preliminary Discourse pronounced before the University College of London upon the Commencement of a Series of Lectures on Architecture*, 1842, 25–38.

[5] *Notes*, 67–8.

important works were University Hall, Gordon Square, now Dr. Williams' Library, and All Saints' Church, Gordon Street, now converted into the Great Hall. He added to the college the General Library, the main staircase, and the Birkbeck Laboratory, and was responsible for the interior of the Flaxman Gallery. He played a leading part in the foundation of the Royal Institute of British Architects. Throughout the period of his tenure of the chair, and for long after, the school was an evening school. James Yates had also suggested the foundation of a chair of Archæology.[1] Another twenty years were yet to pass before this project was realised, but a beginning was made with the work done by Donaldson as professor of Architecture.

The foundation of a chair of Engineering, a subject which, as Donaldson conceived, was very closely associated with architecture, had been delayed, it will be remembered, by the jealousy of the professor of Natural Philosophy. It was achieved in 1841, when the Council appointed C. B. Vignoles as professor of Civil Engineering. It was the first chair of its kind to be founded in this country. Its establishment was followed by other developments which are of interest in the history of the science. In 1846 there was added a professorship of the Mechanical Principles of Engineering,[2] to which the Council appointed Eaton Hodgkinson, and a professorship of Descriptive Machinery,[3] held by Bennet Woodcroft. The appointments meant that the broad division of the subject into civil and military engineering no longer sufficed and that mechanical engineering as a branch of civil engineering, of which the foundations had been laid much earlier by craftsmen like James Watt, Stephenson, and the early mill-wrights, who had won their knowledge almost entirely in the workshop and the engine room, was beginning to assert itself as a subject suitable to scientific and professional study.[4]

C. B. Vignoles[5] had an adventurous career. Left an orphan

[1] J. Yates: *Thoughts on the Advancement of Academical Education in England*, 2nd ed., 1827, ix.

[2] *Ann. Rept.*, 1847, 7–8. [3] *Ibid.*, 1848, 9.

[4] Professor E. G. Coker: Engineering [Typescript in the college library], f. 3.

[5] *D.N.B.*

in the hands of the French in Guadeloupe at the age of two in 1794, he began his career in the army, serving in Holland in 1814 and then in the campaign in Canada and with the army of occupation in France after Waterloo. Finding that the army after the peace offered no prospect of a career, he went to America and worked there as a surveyor, first in South Carolina and then in Florida until 1823. On his return to England he played a conspicuous part in the early history of railway engineering and built up a very profitable practice. But in 1841 he lost £80,000, and involved many of his friends in difficulties, in consequence of a reckless purchase of partly paid-up shares in the Sheffield and Manchester Railway, made when the shares were severely depreciated and in order to keep afloat the project of which he was chief engineer.[1] In these circumstances he accepted the chair at college which it is unlikely he would otherwise have held,[2] and he only retained it during his days of obscurity and neglect. He was absent for the greater part of the session 1843–4 upon a professional visit to Würtemberg[3] and resigned in 1845, when he became again engaged in railway construction and in numerous and important engineering works upon the continent, of which the most notable was the suspension bridge over the Dnieper at Kieff.

Eaton Hodgkinson[4] was well known at the time of his appointment for his work as an experimenter upon the strength of materials, and in the year of his election was made a member of the royal commission to enquire into the application of iron to railway structures. But he was a man of fifty-six when he began his academic work and had himself had but little systematic education, and his lectures, partly on account of a nervous hesitancy of speech, appear to have been unsuccessful. Neither did Bennet Woodcroft,[5] though a rather younger and more distinguished man, add much to his reputation by his professorial activities. Of Lancashire origin, the son of a merchant and silk and muslin manufacturer, he is famous for a number of inventions in textile machinery and for his work in the organisation of the Patent Office and

[1] O. J. Vignoles: *The Life of Charles Blacker Vignoles*, 1889, 233–4, 239–43.
[2] *Ibid.*, 263. [3] *Ibid.*, 315. [4] *D.N.B.* [5] *Ibid.*

its library and museum, and his tenure of the chair was only a brief interlude in a busy and successful professional career.

The third of the new departures was the foundation of a chair of Geology in 1841.[1] But it took thirteen years to establish the school securely. The Council was hampered by that familiar difficulty, a lack of funds, and not until that problem was solved in 1854 was any steady progress made. The first professor, Thomas Webster,[2] an architect by training, was a man of sixty-eight at the time of his appointment, and died at the beginning of the fourth session of his tenure of the office. He had not time therefore to exercise any great influence upon the study of the science, although he retains an honourable if not very conspicuous place in its history,[3] and after his death the chair remained vacant for nearly three years, during which time lectures were delivered by T. Joyce, a fellow of the Geological Society.

In 1847 A. C. Ramsay, to whom the chair had already been offered in 1845, was persuaded to accept the appointment. But it had been pressed upon him, he was very fully engaged in other activities, he got little out of it, and he soon resigned to accept a more eligible post.

"Heard from Sir Henry [de la Beche] asking me if I would accept the Chair of Geology at University College, London, if it were offered me," he entered in his diary in June, 1847. "Wrote favourably, but said I would not accept if the trouble were to be infinite and the emoluments nothing but honour. I would accept on the grounds that the position of professor in one of the chartered Universities is a good addition to my present honourable position; that it would do me good in London scientific society, besides that a tag is a useful thing to a man's name anywhere. This is the second time it has been offered; the last was before Joyce was appointed."[4]

The class, he was told, had during the last five years numbered from eight to seventeen students, and the emolu-

[1] *Ann. Rept.*, 1842, 6; Minutes, iii, 22 May, 1841.
[2] *D.N.B.*
[3] *Cf.* A. Geikie: *The Founders of Geology*, 1905, 396–7.
[4] A. Geikie: *Memoir of Sir Andrew Crombie Ramsay*, 1895, 101.

ments had ranged from £14 10*s.* to £48. It was agreed that his lectures should be delivered in the afternoon and should be concentrated in one course running from January to March. Even so, he found them a severe tax upon his time, and he resigned in 1851 to become professor of Geology at the newly instituted Government School of Mines.[1] In the session 1848–9 a course of lectures on mineralogy was delivered by E. J. Chapman[2] and in 1851 a chair of Mineralogy was established to which he was appointed.[3] But he resigned in 1853 to accept a similar chair at the University of Toronto. In that year therefore both chairs were vacant, and at the distribution of prizes in July Sir Roderick Murchison had to lament that no provision was made for the study of either geology or mineralogy.[4] In response to his appeal Baron de Goldsmid gave £50 a year towards the better remuneration of the professor,[5] and the Council was enabled to appoint John Morris to the joint chair of geology and mineralogy which he held until 1877.

Andrew Crombie Ramsay[6] at the time of his appointment was at the height of his vigour. The years of his tenure of the chair of Geology at the college were those during which he achieved his chief geological triumph—the unravelling of the complicated history of the ancient volcanic region of which Snowdon forms the centre.[7] He was an admirable lecturer, speaking merely from notes, and his lectures must have been full of fresh and original work.[8] But his duties as director of the Geological Survey in Great Britain were arduous and he was required to spend long periods away from London in the supervision of the field-work of his staff, and it may be doubted whether any man can create a school by periodic incursions, however brilliant and however invigorating they may be. The effective development of the study of geology and mineralogy belongs therefore to that general revival

[1] A. Geikie: *Memoir of Sir Andrew Crombie Ramsay*, 1895, 101–3, 186.
[2] *D.N.B., 2nd Suppl.*
[3] *Ann. Rept.*, 1850, 6, 1851, 7.
[4] *Cal.*, 1854, 47–8.
[5] *Ann. Rept.*, 1854, 7.
[6] *D.N.B.*; A. Geikie: *Memoir of Sir Andrew Crombie Ramsay*, 1895.
[7] A. Geikie: *Memoir of Sir Andrew Crombie Ramsay*, 1895, 132.
[8] *Ibid.*, 108, 115–6, 118–9, 279.

which begins about the year 1855,[1] and at that date also the gift of collections made by Murchison and Greenough laid the foundation of the geological museum.[2]

John Morris,[3] the first professor to occupy the combined chair, had started life as a pharmaceutical chemist, but early interested himself in other scientific pursuits and ultimately retired from business to devote himself entirely to them. His published papers attracted attention, and his *Catalogue of British Fossils*, issued in 1845, added greatly to his reputation. The years 1853–4 were spent in geological field-work in Europe with Sir Roderick Murchison, and it was after this tour that Murchison persuaded Morris to offer himself as a candidate for the chair at the college. His successor, T. G. Bonney, described him as a born teacher, "for he was not only full of enthusiasm, but also united to a memory of extraordinary retentiveness a remarkable power of lucid exposition."[4] The attendance at the classes in geology improved,[5] and the practice of making geological expeditions, that students might have some experience of field-work, was begun.[6]

ii. The Faculty of Medicine

In earlier days weakness in the General Department had been compensated by the pre-eminence of the Medical School. In the 'forties this was no longer so. In spite of the great names of Richard Quain, W. H. Walshe, E. A. Parkes, W. Jenner, Wharton Jones, Erichsen, and Viner Ellis, and of the fact that Sharpey was still steadily at work, the numbers in the Medical School began to decline in 1838 and made no steady recovery until the 'sixties. Standing at 497 in 1837–8 they were 161 in 1863–4.[7]

The causes of the decline were various. Over some of them the college had no control. Others were in some measure the direct outcome of its own success and were such as it could not desire to remove. But some part of what the

[1] *Cf. Ann. Rept.*, 1856, 5.
[2] *Ann. Rept.*, 1855, 9, 1856, 8; *cf.* 1843, 4, 8.
[3] *D.N.B.* [4] *Ibid.* [5] *Ann. Rept.*, 1856, 5.
[6] *The London Student*, No. 2, 128 (May, 1868).
[7] *Ann. Rept.*, 1840, 16, 1865, 5.

Lancet went so far as to describe as " the ruined character " [1] of the institution was due to its domestic quarrels.[2]

One of these became public during the 'forties. In April, 1848, Samuel Cooper resigned the chair of Surgery on account of his disapproval of the appointment of James Syme [3] to the chair of Clinical Surgery in succession to Liston, instead of his own son-in-law and acting assistant, Thomas Morton,[4] and said publicly that he did it on the ground neither of advancing years nor declining health, but because of the impossibility of agreement with two of his colleagues, " (the two who almost rule the medical end of this Institution), on certain points affecting the claims of gentlemen brought up at this school, not to be forgotten in the distribution of its patronage." [5] His action, discreditable in itself, revealed an uneasy temper in the medical department, and cost the college the services of Syme. It had been the practice of Liston, as professor of Clinical Surgery, to assist the professor of Systematic Surgery to the extent of nearly half of the course, and it was intimated to Syme upon his appointment that he would be required to render Cooper or his successor a similar service. On the resignation of Cooper, however, it was urged upon Syme that he should undertake the whole of the duties of the professor of Systematic Surgery in addition to those of his own chair. Since one of the principal inducements to exchange Edinburgh for London had been the prospect of an enlarged surgical practice, such a proposal was unwelcome. His reluctance to it was clinched by an episode which occurred at the distribution of medical prizes in May, 1848, at which he was present, when Quain and Sharpey, the individuals against whom Cooper's charges were

[1] *Lancet, MDCCCXLVIII*, ii, 647 (9 Dec.).

[2] *Cf. British Medical Journal*, 1887, ii, 694. [3] *D.N.B.* [4] *Ibid.*

[5] *London Medical Gazette*, n.s., vi, 655–6 (14 April, 1848), 743–4 (28 April), 767–71, 785–6 (5 May), 915–6 (26 May); *Lancet, MDCCCXLVIII*, i, 425, 428 (15 April); S. Cooper: *The Official Resignation of the Professorship of Surgery, in University College, London, with Observations, addressed to the President and Council* [1848]; *Reply by Mr. Quain to a Pamphlet . . . by Samuel Cooper, F.R.S. . . . with a Resolution of the Council of the College respecting Mr. Cooper's Statements*, 1848; *Remarks, by Dr. Sharpey, in reply to a pamphlet, entitled " The Official Resignation [etc.]"* [n.d.]; *cf. The Times*, 17 April, 1848, 7 f.

directed, were received with groans and vociferations and prevented from delivering their addresses in presenting their prizemen, and the demonstration was allowed to pass without rebuke by Brougham, who was in the chair. Syme felt that there was "such a spirit of dispeace in the college as to forbid any reasonable prospect of comfort." He was being asked to do more than he had intended to undertake, and he foresaw that he would be the innocent victim of the hostility of the partisans of Cooper and of Morton. He had only left Edinburgh with much hesitation. He promptly decided to return, and he resigned his chair after a tenure of five months.[1] It was a very grave loss to the college.

Yet in spite of these drawbacks, and although the numbers in the Medical School did not reach their lowest figure until the early 'sixties, the staff was greatly strengthened during the late 'forties and early 'fifties. W. H. Walshe, succeeding Carswell as professor of Pathological Anatomy in 1841, became professor of Clinical Medicine in 1846, and professor of the Principles and Practice of Medicine in 1848. In 1849, A. B. Garrod, appointed assistant physician in 1847, succeeded to the chair of Materia Medica, and both he and E. A. Parkes became professors of Clinical Medicine, while W. Jenner was appointed to the chair of Pathological Anatomy, and W. B. Carpenter succeeded Anthony Todd Thomson as professor of Medical Jurisprudence. In 1850, Viner Ellis, after acting first as demonstrator in anatomy, then as curator of the Anatomical Museum, and finally for two years as joint professor, succeeded Richard Quain as full professor of Anatomy, and J. E. Erichsen, assistant surgeon to the hospital since 1848, became professor of Surgery and of Clinical Surgery, and in 1851, Wharton Jones was appointed to the newly-established chair of Ophthalmic Medicine and Surgery.

Of these men, six, Parkes, Garrod, Jenner, Carpenter, Ellis, and Erichsen, were students of the college.

W. H. Walshe[2] began his career as a law student in Dublin, migrated to Paris where he began the study of oriental lang-

[1] R. Paterson: *Memorials of the Life of James Syme*, 1874, 80, 86–96; *Statement, by Mr. Syme, relative to his Connection with University College*, 1848.

[2] *D.N.B.*

uages, but after two years turned to that of medicine and became a pupil of Louis at La Pitié, where he was the companion of Oliver Wendell Holmes. Graduating at Edinburgh in 1836, he started in practice in London two years later, and quickly made a reputation with a series of articles contributed to Costello's *Cyclopædia of Surgery* and Todd's *Cyclopædia of Anatomy and Physiology*. As a practioner he had no remarkable ability; as a teacher he had great influence. Jenner said he had never heard "a more able or clearer lecturer." Rapid, fluent, precise, rigidly logical, though often rhetorical, and highly eloquent when he chose, he is described as delighting to enumerate points upon his fingers in the manner of the schoolmen and reach his end *per viam exclusionis*. At the bedside he was most precise and methodical, and he had a principal part in the foundation and conduct of the London Medical Society of Observation modelled upon that of Paris. A prolific writer upon medical topics, he was also a man of very wide general culture. A lover of music and learned in acoustics, he published a work on *Dramatic Singing Physiologically Estimated*. His early training in the law made him a valuable consultant in legal cases such as those of disputed testamentary capacity or claims for compensation for injuries received. "His conversation," wrote Reynolds, "was enriched by epigram and anecdote and great humour. His acquaintances were many, his intimate personal friends were few. . . . He was by nature both sceptical and cynical; but to what he did believe he clung with all his energy, and where he did trust he trusted utterly."[1]

E. A. Parkes[2] came of an interesting family which played a large part in the social history of the century. His grandfather Thomas Byerley was the nephew and partner of Josiah Wedgwood, and he was thus second cousin once removed to Charles Darwin. Both his mother and her sister, Katharine Byerley, who became the wife of Anthony Todd Thomson, were women of some literary reputation. He was first cousin once removed to Joseph Parkes, the well-known Birmingham politician, whose daughter became Mme Belloc and played a notable part in the advancement of the educa-

[1] J. Russell Reynolds: *Walter Hayle Walshe*, 1893, 23. [2] *D.N.B.*

tion of women. His grandfather and great-uncle were leaders among the Unitarians in Warwick in the latter years of the eighteenth century and numbered among their familiars Joseph Priestley, Samuel Parr, and Basil Montagu, and among the lesser luminaries of the group were the Fields, another family to which the college was to owe much.[1]

Parkes himself was born at Bloxham in 1819, and came to the university in 1834. Graduating in 1841 he lectured for his uncle on materia medica and medical jurisprudence. Serving from 1842 to 1845 in India as an army surgeon, he returned to establish himself in practice in London. From the duties of the chair of Clinical Medicine, to which he was appointed in 1849, he was called away in 1855, when it became impossible any longer to deny the breakdown of the Army Medical Service in the Crimea, to take charge of a civil military hospital which he established at Renkioi.[2] There he won the admiration and friendship of Florence Nightingale,[3] and it was upon her nomination that he was appointed in 1860 to the chair of Hygiene in the newly-established Army Medical School at Chatham, in the planning of which he had been frequently consulted by Sidney Herbert.[4] His acceptance of the post was due partly to reasons of health. He had been twice very ill and was constrained to give up living in London.[5] But it was at Chatham and at Netley, to which place the school was subsequently removed, that the most important work of his life was done. He is regarded as the author of the system of medical instruction in the military services, and he has been called the founder of the science of

[1] J. K. Buckley: *Joseph Parkes of Birmingham*, 1926, 7; *Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson.* Edited by Thomas Sadler, 3 v., 1869, iii, 178; P. W. Clayden: *Samuel Sharpe*, 1883, 40, 86–7.

[2] *Report to the Right Hon. Lord Panmure, G.C.B., &c. . . . of the Proceedings of the Sanitary Commission despatched to the Seat of War in the East*, 1855–6 [Command paper] 2196, 57–9. H. of C., 1857 (1st Session), IX, 241; [A. H. Gordon] Lord Stanmore: *Sidney Herbert, Lord Herbert of Lea. A Memoir*, 2 v., 1906, i, 398–9.

[3] E. T. Cooke: *The Life of Florence Nightingale*, 2 v., 1913, i, 174.

[4] *Ibid.*, i, 390; [A. H. Gordon] Lord Stanmore: *Sidney Herbert, Lord Herbert of Lea. A Memoir*, 2 v., 1906, ii, 151 *et seq.*, 364 *et seq.*

[5] *British Medical Journal*, 1876, i, 397.

modern hygiene. His *Manual of Practical Hygiene* and the *Reports on Hygiene* which appeared in the annual *Army Medical Department Reports* had a great and widely extended influence. "The knowledge and instruction he has diffused from the School as a centre," wrote Florence Nightingale, "has extended and will extend wherever the English language is spoken, and beyond." [1] Always delicate, he yet managed to do a great deal. But valuable and extensive as was his work, better still, it was said, was the way in which he did it. His tenderness, his energy, his courage, his even mind, undismayed by difficulties and equally unelated by success, left upon his contemporaries the impression of a character of peculiar sweetness. "A man," said Russell Reynolds, "honest, earnest and ingenious in his work." It belonged to very few, said the *Lancet*, "to have spent so true, devoted, and useful a life as he did. One of a small but distinguished band at University College, among whom his memory will not easily fade, Parkes attempted a great deal, and what he attempted he did well." "A man of most rare modesty; of singular gifts," wrote Florence Nightingale.[2]

A. B. Garrod[3] came from Ipswich and obtained his appointment to the professorship of Clinical Medicine at the age of thirty-two, nine years after graduating M.B. He transferred to King's College in 1863, where he remained until 1874. A follower of Prout and Bence Jones, his reputation was made in the chemical investigation of the problems of disease, and he was one of the great pioneers in chemical pathology.[4]

W. Jenner,[5] appointed to the chair of Pathological Anatomy in 1849, became a professor of Clinical Medicine in 1854, acted as deputy for Parkes in 1855–6, succeeded him as Holme professor in 1860, and became professor of the Principles and Practice of Medicine in 1863, retiring in 1872. He had,

[1] E. T. Cooke: *The Life of Florence Nightingale*, 2 v., 1913, ii, 318.

[2] *Lancet, MDCCCLXXVI*, i, 471–2, 481 (25 March); E. T. Cooke: *The Life of Florence Nightingale*, 2 v., 1913, ii, 318.

[3] *D.N.B., 2nd Suppl.; Bulletin*, v, 1927–8, 120.

[4] Professor A. J. Clark: Department of Pharmacology [Typescript in the college library], f. 1.

[5] *D.N.B., Suppl.*

writes Sir John Rose Bradford, "perhaps more influence as a clinical teacher at University College than any of his predecessors or successors. Jenner was unquestionably one of the greatest clinicians of the Victorian period, a teacher who had a most impressive personality, combined with an extraordinary shrewdness in estimating at their true value the signs of disease, and also a sound and wide knowledge of disease."[1]

Honest in thought, deed, and utterance, he was an unsparing critic.

"He was by far the most impressive teacher of Medicine I ever heard," wrote Vivian Poore, "and he was assuredly the strongest personality that I have ever encountered. . . . It is the fashion to say that lectures are of little use . . . but nobody who ever listened to Jenner's systematic lectures on Medicine has ever told me they were of no use. His manner and matter were to the student's brain what the acid is to the copper plate of the etcher. His teaching was burned in. He lectured at nine, and few of us ever missed a lecture. We went to listen, and we got something from this gifted dogmatic Professor which was not to be found in any text book."[2]

"He was a man of remarkable appearance . . . A round massive head with peering eyes that took in everything, including the character of the man he was talking to, with an expression, sometimes impassive and rather sullen, but which lighted up directly he was interested, as in the recital of some instructive case which he had seen that day and was using, as was his wont, for the elucidation of some similar case in the ward."[3]

Appointed physician extraordinary to the Queen in 1861, he attended the Prince Consort during his last illness. He made a large fortune by his practice.

W. B. Carpenter[4] came of a famous unitarian family, and was a son of Lant Carpenter, unitarian divine and schoolmaster, who numbered among his pupils James Martineau and Walter Bagehot. Attracted to the study of medicine by the influence of the family doctor J. P. Estlin, he went with him to the West Indies, returning to complete his medical

[1] Sir John Rose Bradford: Medical School [Typescript in the college library], f. 12.

[2] *University College Gazette*, ii, 1898–1901, 24–5. [3] *Ibid.*, 24. [4] *D.N.B.*

training at Bristol, London, and Edinburgh. Before graduating at Edinburgh he had joined the staff of the Bristol Medical School, where he lectured upon medical jurisprudence and upon physiology. In 1844 he removed to London, becoming Fullerian professor of physiology at the Royal Institution. He retained the chair of Medical Jurisprudence at the college, to which he succeeded in 1849, until 1856, when he was appointed registrar to the university, a labour to which he devoted the rest of his life. From 1851 to 1859 he acted as Principal of University Hall in succession to Clough. Carpenter has been described as one of the last examples of an almost universal naturalist. Besides his contributions to physiology much of his most valuable work was done on marine zoology, and to these activities he added contributions to botany and to geology. At the same time, a man of immense energy, a singularly lucid speaker, a good organiser, and endowed with a keen sense of public duty, he combined with his scientific pursuits a multitude of social activities, and besides his services to the university did, in particular, much to popularise scientific knowledge. He always produced, wrote Professor Ray Lankester, "the most vivid impression of a man of indomitable energy, who had accepted as the highest duty and keenest delight of his life, the promotion, whether by advocacy or research, of true knowledge."[1]

G. Viner Ellis[2] is an odd figure. A dry man who devoted a life of unremitting toil to a dry subject, he played a notable part in his own time and became to later generations the mere shadow of a great name. University College was famous in the 'fifties as the best place for the study of anatomy. This, it has been observed, was due to two causes.

"No other medical school had a dissecting room which could compare in convenience and suitability to its purpose, with the spacious, lofty, well-lighted and well-ventilated hall in which Ellis taught; no other school had a Professor of Anatomy who devoted literally his whole time to the subject. Elsewhere anatomy was invariably taught by one of the hospital surgeons. . . . University College found itself possessed of a

[1] *Nature*, xxxiii, 1886, 85.

[2] *Lancet*, 1900, i, 1407; *British Medical Journal*, 1900, i, 1132, 1392; *The Times*, 1 May, 1900, 11 d–e.

man endowed with culture, zeal, energy, and considerable tact, who yet would devote his time all day and every day year after year for an indefinite series of years, at a moderate salary and without any hope that his occupation would ever lead to something better, labouring incessantly at so absolutely uninteresting a subject, and one which gave so little scope to the mind as the study and teaching of the naked eye anatomy of the human body unrelieved by any excursions into microscopical anatomy, physiology, comparative anatomy, pathological anatomy, or anything else whatsoever." [1]

Strict, austere, unsympathetic in manner, save when he would show his liking for an industrious worker "by patting him on the shoulder with hands too visibly subdued to that they worked in—a mark of approval not always properly appreciated by the object of it," he is described as disdaining to clothe the dry bones of anatomy with any flesh of human interest, but so exact in detail and so clear as to be listened to with close attention if not with pleasure. An expounder rather than a discoverer, his chief work was the rigorous verification and systematisation of what was already known, and his *Demonstrations of Anatomy: being a Guide to the Knowledge of the Human Body by Dissections*, published in 1840, found wide acceptance and passed through many editions.[2] To so austere a conception of so arid a subject he added the character of a most determined disciplinarian. He is said always to have had perfect command of his class. "On one occasion," it is told, "when Professor Robert Grant, at that time extremely old and feeble, found his class unmanageable he called Ellis to his aid. The redoubtable Professor of Anatomy had a brief but convincing interview with the unruly spirits, who thenceforth displayed the most lamblike demeanour in 'poor old Grant's' lecture room." [3] Yet, though to outward seeming an odd, hale, grubby, hard, and narrow man, highly respected but never very popular, passing his life in apparent enjoyment of the unsavoury conditions of those days before it occurred to anyone to arrest the putrefaction of the 'subjects' by the injection of preservative fluid, and when the corpses which he demonstrated were invariably already in a high state of decomposition long

[1] *British Medical Journal*, 1900, i, 1392. [2] *Ibid.*, 1132. [3] *Ibid.*

before the dissection of them was completed, he would discourse to the few on subjects so remote from the supposed range of his interests as the Elizabethan poets, and reveal an unsuspected depth of feeling. Inheriting a small fortune, he retired at the age of sixty-five in 1877, to spend another twenty-three years in the quiet of Gloucestershire, growing apples.

J. E. Erichsen,[1] a Dane by origin, like Garrod obtained his chair at the early age of thirty-two. A pupil of Carswell, Sharpey, and Liston, he had completed his training in Paris and returned to the hospital after a brief experience at the Westminster school. His appointment was a bold one and gave great offence to Richard Quain, his senior, who coveted the post for himself, and who refused to speak to him for the next fifteen years.[2] It was fully justified in the event. He is counted among the great makers of modern surgery. His work on *The Science and Art of Surgery*, which first appeared in 1853 when he was thirty-five, at once took its place as the principal text-book on the subject, and procured for him a European reputation. Holding the chair of Surgery for sixteen years, when he exchanged it for that of Clinical Surgery which he held for a further nine, he occupied for a quarter of a century a leading position in one of the leading schools in the country, and the reputation of that school as a training place for practical and scientific surgery has been regarded as due in no small measure to his influence.[3] Yet his career belonged to the days before the revolution in surgery produced by the work of Lister, he was very short-sighted and was never a brilliant operator, and he counted for very much more as a man than as a surgeon. His lectures on systematic surgery are reported to have been conversational in character, delivered in a free and easy style, as the lecturer sat on the edge of the table. His clinical lectures were graphic, if somewhat ornate.[4] But both his lectures and his

[1] *D.N.B., Suppl.* [2] *British Medical Journal*, 1896, ii, 887.

[3] *Royal Society Proceedings*, lxi, 1897, *Obituary Notices of Fellows Deceased*, pp. i–ii.

[4] R. J. Godlee: *The late Sir John Eric Erichsen* in *University College Gazette*, i, 1895–8, 38.

bedside teaching brought him a great reputation.[1] Among his house surgeons he numbered Sir Joseph Lister, Sir Henry Thompson, Marcus Beck, and Sir Rickman Godlee. A man of wealth, culture, and very varied experience, punctilious, methodical, caustic if kindly, a good speaker, a charming host and a famous raconteur, with the reputation of being able to manage difficult people and of being entirely reliable himself, he won a position of great weight and influence.[2] In 1887 he became President of the college, an office which he held until his death in 1896.

Of T. Wharton Jones the portrait has been drawn by Sir Rickman Godlee.[3] Born in 1808 he was brought up in poverty and became at last a medical student at Edinburgh. There, when he was about nineteen, he was made his assistant by Robert Knox, the celebrated extramural teacher of anatomy. In 1828 were revealed the nefarious activities of Burke and Hare. Knox and his assistants though not actually implicated had been customers, and were severely criticised. Wharton Jones migrated to Glasgow, where he was associated with a well-known ophthalmic surgeon, William Mackenzie. That Sharpey was one of the critics was never forgotten by him. From Glasgow he went to Cork for two years. In 1837 he spent a year visiting the most important medical schools of the continent. In 1838 he was appointed Lecturer on Anatomy, Physiology, and Comparative Anatomy at the Charing Cross Hospital. By this time his reputation was already made by numerous papers which he had contributed to the proceedings of various learned societies, and he was well known to the leading physiologists in this country and abroad. It was at the Charing Cross Hospital that he was remembered by Huxley as the only teacher from whose instruction he

[1] *British Medical Journal*, 1896, ii, 885.

[2] R. J. Godlee: *The late Sir John Eric Erichsen* in *University College Gazette*, i, 1895–8, 38–9; H. E. Barker: *Sir John Eric Erichsen*, *ibid.*, ii, 1898–1901, 179; *British Medical Journal*, 1896, ii, 887; *Royal Society Proceedings*, lxi, 1897, *Obituary Notices of Fellows Deceased*, p. iii; *Lancet*, 1896, ii, 963.

[3] R. J. Godlee: *Thomas Wharton Jones, F.R.S.*, reprinted from *The British Journal of Ophthalmology*, March and April, 1921; *cf. British Medical Journal*, 1891, ii, 1175–7; *Lancet*, 1891, ii, 1256–8.

obtained the proper effect of education.[1] Of his lectures Huxley wrote:

"Singularly dry and cold in form, they were admirable in logical construction, and full of knowledge derived from personal observation and wide reading. The true *lumen siccum* of science glowed in every proposition which fell from the lips of the pale adust little man as he stood with downcast eyes and fingering his watch chain, at one corner of the table. He never had any notes, but the lectures would read perfectly well if printed straight off."[2]

His appointment to the chair of Ophthalmic Medicine and Surgery made him a member of a body in which scientific enquiry was fostered, and he continued for some years to produce work of high quality,[3] but in course of time his mind became set, and the man whom Godlee knew in the 'seventies was very different from him to whom Huxley had listened in the 'forties. Speaking of a photograph of him, the admirable portrait, Sir Rickman Godlee wrote,

"suggests, as well as any description, his diminutive figure, clad in rather rusty broad-cloth, his quaint pallid face, piercing eyes, long flat nose and long upper lip, and the wisp of straight iron grey hair hanging down on each side from below his skull cap; and if you substitute for this a tall silk hat and a very long over-coat for out-of-doors the picture is complete. Like his friend and colleague Robert Edmund Grant, . . . whose every day attire was a dress coat, he seemed to belong to an older period than the rest of our teachers, much older certainly than their contemporary Sharpey, and we called him—can you wonder?—'Mummy Jones.' In these days attendance on the lectures of the Professor of Ophthalmic Medicine and Surgery was not compulsory, so not many of us were familiar with his Scottish brogue which was stronger than might have been expected in one whose father was a Welshman and who boasted of his ancient English descent and of his old Hibernian kinsmen. And those who went found the lectures unattractive. They were read word for word from a complete manuscript of the course, just as much as could be got through in an hour without reference to the stage he had reached in the subject he was dealing with."[4]

[1] L. Huxley: *Life and Letters of Thomas Henry Huxley*, 3 v., 1903, i, 29.
[2] *British Medical Journal*, 1891, ii, 1176.
[3] R. J. Godlee: *Thomas Wharton Jones, F.R.S.*, 1921, 14.
[4] *Ibid.*, 5.

Later, Godlee used to meet him in the Board Room of the Hospital.

"There was then no retiring age, and he was about 70, but he was always ready for a long disquisition with a junior colleague on such unlikely topics as the special virtues of particular jams, or the superiority of his leather overshoes of Russian pattern to goloshes. Perhaps it was because he was by this time a very solitary man. His real life's work was over, and, when he reached his little home in George Street, Hanover Square, it was not to make or describe more epoch-making discoveries, or to compile laborious treatises or text-books, but to write counter-blasts against the Darwinian theory of evolution, or to enter into angry polemics about his grandmother's genealogy." [1]

He maintained a rigid religious orthodoxy, fell foul of the younger generation of physiologists, carried on an acrimonious correspondence with a distant relative about the family heirlooms, set great store by his Saxon descent and a supposed sixth cousinhood to Queen Victoria, and took to historical studies in the course of which he edited a volume for the Camden Society and wrote a small book on the history of Ireland. In 1880 he was found by Tweedy, ill, penniless, fireless, and starving. Speedily befriended by his colleagues, his name appeared in the Civil List in 1881. He resigned his chair and retired to Ventnor in the Isle of Wight.

"If you visited him in his lodgings in the winter, you would find him buried in an easy chair beside the fire with the temperature of the room about 70° Fahr., his head covered with an old peaked cloth cap, an overcoat on, his knees protected by at least two old rugs, and his feet in Wellington boots. 'You are looking at my boots,' he said . . . on one occasion, 'I did order a new pair twelve years ago, but I remembered that my brother had an attack of apoplexy the day he put on a new pair of boots, so I countermanded the order.'" [2]

He lived very simply, and very quietly, and passed away without any definite illness in 1891.

To these names is to be added that of one who was cut off in his prime when still only an assistant-surgeon, J. P.

[1] R. J. Godlee: *Thomas Wharton Jones, F.R.S.*, 1921, 6.
[2] R. Robertson, *laud., ibid.*, 29.

THE NEW LABORATORY AT UNIVERSITY COLLEGE.
From *The Illustrated London News*, 30 May, 1846.

Potter,[1] a very brilliant member of the college, the only son of its first woman student.

In 1850, however, these were young men. Viner Ellis was thirty-eight at the time of his appointment, and Wharton Jones was forty-two and already a man of established reputation. But Parkes was only twenty-nine when he succeeded Carswell, and of the rest none was yet thirty-seven when he reached professorial rank. It took time for their work to tell.

iii. The Development of the Study of Chemistry and of English

A surer promise that there were better things in store was the progress made during the later 'fifties in the departments of Chemistry and of English.

In 1840 chemical education in England lagged far behind that which was in practice upon the continent, and a student who desired to make any research was constrained unless he could provide his own laboratory and apparatus to go to the chemical schools of France or Germany. In 1845 an important step was taken by the college towards the remedy of this situation by the establishment of a chair of Practical Chemistry and by the foundation of the Birkbeck Laboratory,[2] so called because towards the cost there was contributed a sum which had been raised to commemorate the services of Birkbeck to the cause of education. In order that its work might be in accord with the educational activities with which Birkbeck was peculiarly associated, there was provided an evening course of instruction in Practical Chemistry at a reduced fee and at times suited to the convenience of persons practically engaged in manufactures.[3] But full advantage was not taken of these measures at once. The first holder of the chair of Analytical and Practical Chemistry, G. Fownes,[4] was not a chemist of great importance,[5] and the

[1] *D.N.B.; Preraphaelite Diaries and Letters.* Edited by W. M. Rossetti, 1900, 84, 85; *Ann. Rept.*, 1848, 9–10. [2] *Ann. Rept.*, 1846, 7–8, 1857, 13.

[3] *Ann. Rept.*, 1847, 6–7, 8, 1848, 5; J. G. Godard: *George Birkbeck . . . A Memoir and a Review*, 1884, 176–8. [4] *D.N.B.; Notes and Materials*, 73.

[5] Professor J. Norman Collie: *A Century of Chemistry at University College*, 1927, 14.

new age does not properly begin until the succession of A. W. Williamson[1] in 1849 to the chair, which he held, after 1855 in combination with that of Chemistry,[2] for thirty-eight years.

Born in 1824 Williamson was the son of a clerk in the East India House who was a colleague, a neighbour, and an intimate friend of James Mill, and who took an active part in the foundation of the university. Retiring from the service of the company he took his family abroad and Williamson's education, begun at Kensington Grammar School, was completed upon the continent. He entered the University of Heidelberg in 1840 with a view to a medical career, but forsook medicine for chemistry, and in 1844, in order to study under Liebig, proceeded to Giessen, where he graduated in 1846. Upon that followed three years in Paris spent in chemical research and in the study of mathematics at the feet of Comte, when he met Graham and was encouraged by him to apply for the chair left vacant by the death of Fownes.

His career at the college exercised a profound influence upon chemical research and teaching. A man of cosmopolitan experience, he came to the college straight from the most famous laboratories of the continent, fully indoctrinated with the method and spirit of scientific investigation. Active in research himself, he stimulated others to follow his example. Sir Henry Roscoe, who was a student under him soon after his appointment, and became for a brief period his assistant, recorded his experience of what it was like to work with him.

"At the time I entered the laboratory, Williamson was engaged in the researches which have made his name a household word to chemists all the world over. His was a mind of great originality, and his personality a most attractive one. And, despite his physical disabilities—for he lost an eye and the proper use of his left arm in early childhood—he was a diligent and accurate worker. Ardently devoted to his science, he infected all who worked under him with the same feeling. And his pupils

[1] *D.N.B., 2nd Suppl.*; J. Harris: The Work of Williamson and its relation to the type theory of Wurtz [M.Sc. thesis: typescript].

[2] *Ann. Rept.*, 1856, 7.

willingly own that much of the success that they may have met with in after years was due to his teaching and example. I well remember the feelings of interest he aroused as he each day came down to the laboratory brimful of new ideas. First it was his explanation of the theory of etherification . . . Next it was his well-known paper on the constitution of salts, in which he enunciated principles which have since been generally adopted. Then came his views on atomic motion and interchange . . . All this was the work of a very few years." [1]

Coming red-hot from the laboratories of Laurent and Gerhardt in Paris, he wrote on another occasion, he opened to us the door of modern chemistry.[2] But in the lecture-room and the laboratory he was a poor disciplinarian.[3]

Cut off in a large measure, it has been remarked, by physical infirmities from a knowledge of other men's thoughts except by personal contact, Williamson was remarkable rather for originality than for learning. If he was eminent, he was eminent as a speculative thinker.

[4] "The work with which Williamson will always be associated is that on 'etherification.' It helped on in great measure the revolutionary wave that in these times was sweeping over the chemical world. During the fourth and fifth decades of the last century there raged a battle whose outcome was the establishment of chemistry along the lines on which it has travelled up to the present day. It was a great combat. On one side all the weight of established opinion, on the other the revolutionary ideas of two young French chemists, Laurent and Gerhardt. Their experimental evidence contemptuously denied, their intellects disdained, their originality scoffed at, they continued to oppose their philosophic convictions against the onslaught of the highly-placed prejudices of the chemical world. Berzelius, Liebig, Dumas, all sought to belittle the new ideas. It was the master-minds of these two that made of value the brilliant but isolated discoveries of Williamson on etherifica-

[1] *The Life and Experiences of Sir Henry Enfield Roscoe* . . . Written by Himself, 1906, 36–7; *Letters and Journal of W. Stanley Jevons.* Edited by his Wife, 1886, 15, 31, 35, 36.

[2] *Ann. Rept.*, 1905, 17.

[3] Sir Sidney Harmer to the Provost, 10 May, 1925 [MS. in the college library].

[4] Professor J. Norman Collie: *A Century of Chemistry at University College*, 1927, 16–7.

tion, of Wurtz and Hofmann on compound ammonias, and of others. They collected together the scattered discoveries of the first half of the nineteenth century, and made out of them a connected whole. Gerhardt's theory stands at the present day as it stood at his death in 1856. 'Yes, yes,' he said on his death-bed. 'In fifty years they will find I have done something—I have advanced chemistry fifty years.' Williamson threw in his lot with this younger school, and was one of the first in Great Britain to teach his students this new philosophy of chemistry."

But all Williamson's best work both as chemist and teacher was done during the early years of his professorship. Engaged in the 'forties and 'fifties upon the most important of his scientific work, he was then also most active in the organisation of the work of the new chair and in the application of new methods in the larger sphere which was opened to him in 1855. In later years he was more interested in the practical applications of science, much of his time was in demand for the work of scientific societies and of the University of London, he took a leading part in college administration, he was responsible for inaugurating a Faculty of Science and laboratory work for engineering students, and he was partly instrumental in establishing degrees in science in the university, and he practically abandoned experimental research and the personal supervision of laboratory instruction.[1]

As Williamson in Science, so in Arts Masson was the fugelman of that revival which was to follow in the 'sixties and 'seventies. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that the history of the department of English as we know that department to-day began with the appointment of David Masson[2] to the chair of English Language and Literature in 1852. Masson was never able to give to his work in the college more than a fraction of his time and he went to Edinburgh, where he was appointed to the chair of Rhetoric and English Literature in 1865, partly on account of the dissatisfaction which he felt with his endeavour to do in a part of his time what should have occupied the whole.[3] Yet it was very

[1] Professor J. Norman Collie: *A Century of Chemistry at University College*, 1927, 16; *The Life and Experiences of Sir Henry Enfield Roscoe . . .* Written by Himself, 1906, 37–8; W. Tilden: *Sir William Ramsay*, 1918, 104.

[2] *D.N.B., 2nd Suppl.*

[3] *The Times*, 7 June, 1866, 12 c.

quickly observed that the school began to grow under his influence.[1]

Born in Aberdeen and educated there and in Edinburgh, where he was a pupil of Thomas Chalmers, Masson was thirty at the time of his appointment, but he had already been actively engaged in literary work for ten years and had also already shown that leaning towards history and politics which he retained throughout his life. Making the acquaintance of the Carlyles in the early 'forties he was profoundly influenced by them. Introduced by them to literary circles, he soon came to know many of the most eminent literary men of the day, and he was already contributing to the leading periodicals. For two years, from 1851–2, he had acted as secretary to the London Society of the Friends of Italy and was closely associated with Mazzini. Throughout the period of his professorship he maintained both his literary and political activity. He came to be regarded as one of the most effective public speakers of his day,[2] and in 1858 he was made editor of *Macmillan's Magazine*. Of his work at college, save for the bare record of its success, curiously little seems to have been told. It is necessary to turn to Scotland for a picture of him as a teacher.

"Masson," wrote Sir James Barrie, "always comes to my memory first knocking nails into his desk or trying to tear the gas-bracket from its socket. He said that the Danes scattered over England, taking such hold as a nail takes when it is driven into wood. For the moment he saw his desk turned into England; he whirled an invisible hammer in the air, and down it came on the desk with a crash. No one who has sat under Masson can forget how the Danes nailed themselves upon England. His desk is thick with their tombstones. It was when his mind groped for an image that he clutched the bracket. He seemed to tear his good things out of it. Silence overcame the class. Some were fascinated by the man; others trembled for the bracket. It shook, groaned, and yielded. Masson said another of the things that made his lectures literature; the crisis was passed; and everybody breathed again. He masters a subject by letting it master him; for though his critical reputation is built on honesty, it is his enthusiasm that makes his work

[1] *Ann. Rept.*, 1856, 5, 1857, 5, 1859, 5–6.

[2] *The Times*, 8 Oct., 1907, 4 f.

warm with life. Sometimes he entered the classroom so full of what he had to say that he began before he reached his desk. If he was in the middle of a peroration when the bell rang, even the back-benches forgot to empty. There were the inevitable students to whom literature is a trial, and sometimes they called attention to their sufferings by a scraping of the feet. Then the professor tried to fix his eyeglass on them, and when it worked properly they were transfixed. As a rule, however, it required so many adjustments that by the time his eye took hold of it he had remembered that students were made so, and his indignation went. Then, with the light in his eye that some photographer ought to catch, he would hope that his lecture was not disturbing their conversation." [1]

It was at University College that Masson began his *Life of Milton*.

iv. Grote and Crabb Robinson

To the professors must be added two men whose names had long been familiarly associated with the college, but who did their best work for it during this period, George Grote and Henry Crabb Robinson.

Born in 1794, Grote [2] was the youngest member of the first council. Joining the banking firm of Prescott, Grote & Co. in 1810, he got to know Ricardo in 1817, and was introduced by him to James Mill and by Mill to Bentham, and at Grote's house in Threadneedle Street there gathered between 1822 and 1830 many of those most interested in the foundation of the university, and it became in 1827 the meeting-place for the morning discussions of the younger among the Westminster radicals.[3] His project to write a history of Greece was formed in 1822; in 1826 both he and his wife began to contribute to the *Westminster Review*; and he himself took an active part in the foundation of the university.[4] John Stuart Mill drew a portrait of him in a letter to Carlyle in 1833.

"You ask me about Grote," he said. "I happen to be able to tell you more about him than almost any one, having been intimate with him

[1] J. M. Barrie: *An Edinburgh Eleven. Pencil Portraits from College Life.* "*British Weekly*" *Extras*, No. III, 1889, 18–20.

[2] *D.N.B.* [3] J. S. Mill: *Autobiography*, 1873, 119–23.

[4] Mrs. Grote: *The Personal Life of George Grote*, 1873, 21–4, 42, 49, 51, 60; *cf. D.N.B.*, *s.v.*

almost from my boyhood, though less so than formerly in proportion as I have diverged from his opinions ; he is a Utilitarian ; in one sense I am so too, but *he* is so in rather a narrow sense ; has therefore a belief, a firm one, in *him* most deep and conscientious, for which chiefly he lives, and for which he would die. He is a highly instructed man ; an excellent scholar ; has made great progress in writing a History of Greece, some of the manuscript of which I have seen ; it will be a work of great, though not of consummate merit. He was one of the first of his rank and station to proclaim strong Benthamic-Radical opinions ; he published a pamphlet of merit in defence thereof against the *Edinburgh Review*, as long ago as 1820, when not so old as I am now, and another two years ago, just before the Reform Bill. He is a man of good, but not first-rate intellect : hard and mechanical ; not at all quick ; with less *subtlety* than any able and instructed man I ever knew ; with much logical and but little æsthetic culture ; *narrow* therefore ; even narrower than most other Utilitarians of reading and education ; more of a disciple of my father than anyone else ; industrious, brave, *not* very active or spirited ; universally beloved for his extreme goodness, his simplicity, uprightness, and gentleness ; resembling Ricardo in that particular, though a far inferior man to him in powers of intellect." [1]

He found attendance at the meetings of the Council a great tax upon him in his earlier days, when he was actively engaged in the business of the bank, and he was very much annoyed by the appointment of Hoppus to the chair of Philosophy which was made in his absence in the autumn of 1829, and resigned in February of the following year.[2] His close connection with the college was resumed in 1849 when he was re-elected a member of the Council. He became Treasurer in 1860 and was elected President in succession to Brougham in 1868.[3] He was assiduous in his attendance at the board and exercised a great influence upon the policy of the college.[4]

[1] *The Letters of John Stuart Mill.* Edited by Hugh S. R. Elliot, 2 v., 1910, i, 58–9.

[2] Mrs. Grote: *The Personal Life of George Grote*, 1873, 57, 59; *D.N.B.*, *s.v.*

[3] *Ann. Rept.*, 1849, 4, 1860, 3, 1869, 8.

[4] Mrs. Grote: *The Personal Life of George Grote*, 1873, 251 ; *Philosophical Remains of George Croom Robertson* . . . Edited by A. Bain . . . and T. Whittaker, 1894, 173 ; *D.N.B.*, *s.v.*

Unlike Grote, Crabb Robinson[1] had had little or no part in the foundation of the university. In May, 1828, he bought with some reluctance a share in the university "as a sort of debt to the cause of civil and religious liberty" and without much expectation that anything would come of it,[2] and from June, 1829, until October, 1831, he was abroad. But in February, 1835, he was elected to the Council, becoming a member of the Committee of Management in 1838, and Vice-president of the Senate in 1842.[3] He took a sober view of his connection with the college. "During my absence," he wrote to his brother in March, 1835, "I had the honour conferred on me of being elected one of the Council of the London University. This would have been a flattering distinction a few years back when future Chancellors and Lords Chief Justice were the managers, but we are now a nearly bankrupt body—so that I can not feel the compliment to be very great."[4] But for thirty years he made the affairs of the college the main business of his life.[5] To him it owes a very great debt. Not only was he a great benefactor, but in him above all other members of the Council the professors found one who could understand their point of view and sympathise with their aims,[6] and in him both professors and students discovered a mind stored with the harvest of a lifetime astonishing in the length, variety, and richness of its intellectual experience. What he meant to them has been best said by Bagehot.

"He was always called 'old Crabb,' and that is the only name which will ever bring up his curious image to me. He was, in the true old English sense of the word, a 'character'; one whom a very peculiar

[1] *D.N.B.*

[2] *Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson.* Edited by Thomas Sadler, 3 v., 1869, ii, 391; Corres., No. 984.

[3] *Ann. Rept.*, 1835, 9; Minutes, iii, f. 190; *Ann. Rept.*, 1842, 3; *Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson.* Edited by Thomas Sadler, 3 v., 1869, iii, 156.

[4] H. C. R. to Thomas Robinson, 4 March, 1835. Crabb Robinson MSS., Letters, 1835.

[5] *Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson.* Edited by Thomas Sadler, 3 v., 1869, ii, 391 n.; *cf.* iii, 305, 508–10.

[6] *Ann. Rept.*, 1867, 15; *cf. Diary* [*etc.*], iii, 525–7, 529–30, 538.

life, certainly, and perhaps also a rather peculiar nature to begin with, had formed and moulded into something so exceptional and singular that it did not seem to belong to ordinary life, and almost caused a smile when you saw it moving there. 'An aberrant form,' I believe, the naturalists call the seal and such things in natural history; odd shapes that can only be explained by a long past, and which swim with a certain incongruity in their present *milieu*. Now 'old Crabb' was (to me at least) just like that. You watched with interest and pleasure his singular gestures, and his odd way of saying things, and muttered, as if to keep up the recollection, 'And *this* is the man who was the friend of Goethe, and is the friend of Wordsworth!' . . . As he lived near the college he was fond of collecting at breakfast all the elder students—especially those who had any sort of interest in literature. . . . There was little to gratify the unintellectual part of man at these breakfasts, and what there was was not easy to be got at. Your host, just as you were sitting down to breakfast, found he had forgotten to make the tea, then he could not find his keys, then he rang the bell to have them searched for; but long before the servant came he had gone off into 'Schiller-Goethe,' and could not the least remember what he had wanted. The more astute of his guests used to breakfast before they came, and then there was much interest in seeing a steady literary man, who did not understand the region, in agonies at having to hear three stories before he got his tea, one again between his milk and his sugar, another between his butter and his toast, and additional zest in making a stealthy inquiry that was sure to intercept the coming delicacies by bringing on Schiller and Goethe.

It is said . . . that Mr. Robinson's parents were very good-looking, and that when married they were called the handsome couple. But in his old age very little regular beauty adhered to him, if he ever had any. His face was pleasing from its animation, its kindness, and its shrewdness, but the nose was one of the most slovenly which nature had ever turned out, and the chin of excessive length, with portentous power of extension. But, perhaps, for the purpose of a social narrator (and in later years this was Mr. Robinson's position), this oddity of feature was a gift. It was said, and justly said, that Lord Brougham used to punctuate his sentences with his nose; just at the end of a long parenthesis he *could*, and did, turn up his nose, which served to note the change of subject as well, or better, than a printed mark. Mr. Robinson was not so skilful as this, but he made a very able use of the chin at a conversational crisis, and just at the point of a story pushed it out, and then very slowly drew it in again, so that you always knew when to laugh, and the oddity of the gesture helped you in laughing.

Mr. Robinson had known nearly every literary man worth knowing in England and Germany for fifty years and more. He had studied at Jena in the 'great time,' when Goethe, and Schiller, and Wieland were all at their zenith; he had lived with Charles Lamb and his set, and Rogers and his set, besides an infinite lot of little London people; he had taught Madame de Staël German philosophy in Germany, and helped her in business afterwards in England; he was the real friend of Wordsworth, and had known Coleridge and Southey almost from their 'coming out' to their death. And he was not a mere literary man. He had been a *Times* correspondent in the days of Napoleon's early German battles, now more than 'seventy years since'; he had been off Corunna in Sir John Moore's time; and last, but almost first it should have been, he was an English barrister, who had for years a considerable business, and who was full of picturesque stories about old judges." [1]

He died in 1867 at the age of ninety-one.

v. Student Life

The list of those who were students at the college during this period and afterwards won distinction in life is a long one. The session 1841–2 brought F. J. Furnivall, R. H. Hutton, and H. R. Reynolds, congregational divine and brother of J. R. Reynolds, later professor of Medicine, who came in 1846. Walter Bagehot came in 1842, Joseph Lister in 1843. 1844 brought Henry Matthews, Home Secretary 1886–92, created 1st Viscount Llandaff, A. O. Hume, Indian civil servant and ornithologist, son of Joseph Hume, and J. H. Gladstone, chemist. The session 1845–6 produced a lord of appeal in N. Lindley, son of the professor of Botany, a notable chemist in the person of James Bell, and a banker and lord mayor of London in R. H. Fowler. A. Cohen, to win distinction at the Bar, J. G., later Sir Joshua, Fitch, educationist, A. W. Howitt, anthropologist, Thomas Hodgkin, historian, and E. J. Routh, mathematician, came in 1846. The session 1847–8 was a remarkable one. There then entered C. J. Watkin Williams, who became a judge, Henry Roscoe and W. J. Russell, chemists, W. H. Flower, naturalist, A. W. Bennett, botanist, George Aitchison, architect, Wilson

[1] W. Bagehot: *Literary Studies*. Edited by R. H. Hutton, 2 v., 1884, ii, 326–9.

W. Bagehot

W. Bagehot

W. Bagehot LECTURES

on

Greek Language and collateral matter.

Delivered in

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON.

By

H. Malden Esq. M.A. and other

Session 1842 1843

directly after Christmas vacation

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TAYLOR & WALTON, UPPER GOWER STREET.

TITLE-PAGE OF NOTES UPON LECTURES BY MALDEN AND OTHERS BY WALTER BAGEHOT.

Fox, afterwards professor of Pathological Anatomy, and Henry, afterwards Sir Henry, Thompson, while the classes for schoolmasters were attended by G. J. Holyoake, who came again in 1849–50. 1848 brought J. S. Gamgee, surgeon, J. Beddoe, physician and anthropologist, Edward, later Sir Edward, Fry, and George Buchanan, to become famous for his services to sanitary reform under the Local Government Board. In 1849 came William, later Sir William, Roberts, who did much to build up the medical school in Manchester. A. W., later Sir Alfred, Wills, judge, came in 1850; Henry Maudsley, afterwards professor of Medical Jurisprudence, G. L. Busson du Maurier, W. Stanley Jevons, and W. Brittain Jones, Indian civil servant, in 1851; Michael Foster, G. C. Foster, R. Spence Watson, to become a leading Liberal and one of the founders of Armstrong College, James Kitson, iron and steel master, created 1st Baron Airedale, H. M. Bompas, judge, and Joseph Parker, Congregationalist divine, in 1852–3. W. Tilbury Fox, dermatologist, and G. H., later Sir George Henry, Lewis, solicitor, entered in 1853, and in that session Sir Moses Montefiore attended the lectures of the professor of Political Economy. Sidney Ringer, later professor of Materia Medica, and E., later Sir Edwin, Durning-Lawrence, came in 1854, William F. De Morgan, potter and novelist, Farrer Herschell, to become Lord Chancellor, and J. F. Payne, physician and medical historian, in 1855. The session 1857–8 bred two notable physicians in S. J. Gee and H. C. Bastian, and a notable lawyer in H. H. Cozens-Hardy, created 1st Baron Cozens-Hardy, and is remarkable for the entry of Alexander Herzen, Russian political exile, and F. and L. Kossuth, the two sons of the Hungarian patriot. In 1858 there came J. P. de Wet, who became Chief Justice of the Transvaal, John, more familiarly known as Dr., Clifford, Philip, now Sir Philip, Magnus, and Ernest, now Sir Ernest, Satow. 1859 brought E. H., later Sir Edward, Busk, the Prince Condé, and A. H. Garrod, zoologist.[1]

[1] Register of Students, xii, 12, 50, 72; xiv, 11; xii, 43; xiii, 79, 147, 151, 172, 256, 264, 287; xiv, 44 (*bis*), 47, 51, 52, 101, 127, 133, 128, 165, 168, 134, 113, 136; xv, 23; xiv, 210, 217, 263, 233; xv, 11, 124, 176, 179, 194, 196, 253, 254, 266, 272, 284, 302, 309; xvi, 54, 53, 84, 118, 191, 196, 217; xvii, 2 (*bis*),

To the students who came in these years the college seems to have appeared as peculiarly drab. That Bagehot should have sighed for the loveliness of Herd's Hill is not to be wondered at,[1] but even a Londoner-bred like Eustace John found the place "ungarnished and colourless," with nothing in its antecedents or surroundings to catch and hold the imagination of a youth.[2]

"In winter during the term," wrote a former student, recalling a gruesome story of the old dissecting rooms, which were on the north side of the basement floor, "darkness prevailed by 4 p.m. in this gloomy place. I was in my last session, in the severe . . . winter of 1839. I was always glad to avail myself of a quiet part of the day when the great body of the students were engaged, to prosecute my dissections; . .

21, 10, 11 (*bis*), 100, 96, 121, 181, 183, 266, 301; *cf. D.N.B.* & *Suppls. s.vv.*; for H. M. Bompas *cf. D.N.B., s.v.* W. C. Bompas; for Roberts, Wills, Jones, Durning-Lawrence, F. Kossuth, and de Wet, *cf. Who was Who*; for Maudsley, G. C. Foster, Bastian, Clifford, and Busk, *cf. The Times*, 25 Jan., 1918, 9 c, 11 Feb., 1919, 5 d, 19 Nov., 1915, 11 b, 21 Nov., 1923, 7 a–b, 1 Nov., 1926, 16 e; for Wilson Fox, *cf. Notes*, 135–7, 161–2; for Sir Philip Magnus and Sir Ernest Satow, *cf. Who's Who*, 1928. See also, *Frederick James Furnival. A Volume of Personal Record*, 1911, ix–xii; *Richard Holt Hutton of 'The Spectator.' A Monograph*, Edinburgh, 1899, 26, 30; *Henry Robert Reynolds, his Life and Letters*. Edited by his Sisters, 1898, 11–30; Mrs. Russell Barrington: *Life of Walter Bagehot*, 1914, c. v; Walter Bagehot: *Literary Studies*. Edited by R. H. Hutton, 2 v., 1884, i, pp. xiii–xiv; R. J. Godlee: *Lord Lister*, Oxford, 1924, 15–22; W. Wedderburn: *Allan Octavian Hume*, 1913, 5; A. L. Lilley: *Sir Joshua Fitch*, 1906, 5–8; L. Creighton: *Life and Letters of Thomas Hodgkin*, 1917, c. ii; *The Life and Experiences of Sir Henry Enfield Roscoe*. Written by Himself, 1906, c. ii; C. J. Cornish: *Sir William Henry Flower*, 1904, 7–11; R. Lydekker: *Sir William Flower*, 1906, 5–6; G. J. Holyoake: *Sixty Years of an Agitator's Life*, 2 v., 1893, i, 185; J. McCabe: *Life and Letters of George Jacob Holyoake*, 2 v., 1908, i, 124, 143; J. McCabe: *George Jacob Holyoake*, 1922, 25; J. Beddoe: *Memories of Eighty Years*, 1910, 27–42; Agnes Fry: *Memoir of the Rt. Hon. Sir Edward Fry*, 1921, 41–6; *Letters and Journal of W. Stanley Jevons*. Edited by his Wife, 1886, c. ii; P. Corder: *Life of Robert Spence Watson*, 1914, 24–5; *In Memory of James Kitson, First Baron Airedale*. Privately printed, Leeds, 1911; J. Parker: *A Preacher's Life*, 1909, 76–7; A. M. W. Stirling: *William De Morgan and his Wife*, 1922, 51–7; C. T. Bateman: *John Clifford*, 1904, 57–63; J. Marchant: *Dr. John Clifford. Life, Letters, and Reminiscences*, 1924, 43–4.

[1] Mrs. Russell Barrington: *Life of Walter Bagehot*, 1914, 101.

[2] William De Morgan: *The Old Man's Youth*, 1921, 235.

Dr. Thomson, Professor of Materia Medica, lectured at 3 p.m., was a popular man, and his class was always well attended. That, and the splendid skating in Regent's-park, thinned the dissecting room of students from 2 p.m. until 5 p.m. I took advantage of this, and always attended during the afternoon, when there were seldom more than three or four of us present. . . . On each side of the room were five tables with a walking way up the centre to the fire-place, which was at the farthest end from the door. Upon each table was a body in various stages of dissection, covered by a coarse sheet when not being used ; the floor was covered thick with sawdust and wooden stools were placed about the several tables. . . . Not a sound could be heard even of my own feet upon the soft sawdust. There was only that dull and rolling sound of the traffic in the streets which is peculiar to London, and which came dismally down through the ventilators in the roof." [1]

It is a fit setting for a macabre story, part and parcel of the London of Dickens, and only a little exaggerates the feelings experienced by others. The place filled Thomas Hodgkin with a sense of dinginess, and the early years of his college life were a time of depression.[2] There is the same air of gloominess, strain, overwork, and consequent ill-health, in the story of the college days of his cousin Joseph Lister, and the tale could be often repeated.[3] But the seriousness is not without relief. " We think," said *Punch*, retorting upon Brougham, and referring to the not infrequent appearance of medical students before the magistrates, " as far as vulgarity goes, the concern in Gower Street may vie with the older establishments of the Cam and the Isis." [4] And whatever the defects, recalled Hutton, and doubtless they were many—

" in those years London was a place with plenty of intellectual stimulus in it for young men, while in University College itself there was quite enough vivacious and original teaching to make that stimulus available to the full. It is sometimes said," he added, " that it needs the quiet of a country town remote from the capital, to foster the love of genuine study in young men. But of this, at least, I am sure, that Gower

[1] *Notes*, 37.

[2] L. Creighton: *Life and Letters of Thomas Hodgkin*, 1917, 12.

[3] R. J. Godlee: *Lord Lister*, 1924, 15 ; Agnes Fry: *Memoir of the Right Hon. Sir Edward Fry*, 1921, 41.

[4] *Punch, or the London Charivari*, x, 1846, 248.

Street, and Oxford Street, and the New Road, and the dreary chain of squares from Euston to Bloomsbury, were the scenes of discussions as eager and as abstract as ever were the sedate cloisters or the flowery river-meadows of Cambridge or Oxford. Once, I remember, in the vehemence of our argument as to whether the so-called logical principle of identity (A is A) were entitled to rank as 'a law of thought' or only as a postulate of language, Bagehot and I wandered up and down Regent Street for something like two hours in the vain attempt to find Oxford Street." [1]

Among student clubs, the Medical Society continued to flourish.[2] The old Literary and Philosophical Society, which was still alive in 1843,[3] was superseded about that date by a new Debating Society, in the foundation of which Bagehot, R. H. Hutton, and W. C. Roscoe were the prime movers.[4] No Law Society appears when the practice of printing a list of college societies in the *Calendar* begins in 1854, and apparently the original society had gone long before, since in 1843 a new Law Discussion Society had been formed.[5] The old Chemical and Physical Society had likewise disappeared. A society for the study of mathematics was founded in 1844.[6] In March, 1850, the students of the Birkbeck laboratory formed a society for reading and discussing papers on scientific subjects, which took the name of the Birkbeck Philosophical Society, and a bound manuscript volume of the lectures delivered before it between 1850 and 1852 has been preserved.[7]

[1] W. Bagehot: *Literary Studies*. Edited by R. H. Hutton, 2 v., 1884, i, pp. xiii–iv.

[2] *London University Magazine*, iii, 1858, 705, 833–4.

[3] Minutes, iii, 1 Apr., & 3 June, 1843; Corres., 1843, *s.v.* Literary and Philosophical Society.

[4] Mrs. Russell Barrington: *Life of Walter Bagehot*, 1914, 108–9, 124–9, 155; *cf. Notes*, 20, 89; *Cal.*, 1854 +; *Letters and Journal of W. Stanley Jevons*. Edited by his Wife, 1886, 174–5; Agnes Fry: *Memoir of the Right Hon. Sir Edward Fry*, 1921, 308–9; *London University Magazine*, i, 1856, 470–3, iii, 1858, 705, 890.

[5] Corres., 1843, *s.v.* Law Society.

[6] *Henry Robert Reynolds, D.D., His Life and Letters*. Edited by his Sisters, 1898, 18.

[7] W. J. Russell to the Secretary, 2 March, 1850, Corres., 1850; O. L. Brady: A Short History of the Chemical and Physical Society [MS. in the college library], f. 1; *Notes*, 38.

CURIOSITIES OF COSTUME.

A SORT of academical epidemic has broken out among the medical students at the northern end of the town; and the youths at the University in Gower Street have not only trenched upon the collegiate trenchers, but have assumed the gown, which ill assorts with the paletot of private life. This strange association of the garb of learning

with the habits of the medical students as they live, produces a curious effect; and the neighbourhood of Gower Street has been accordingly startled by the appearance that the combination presents.

We have not heard by what authority the assumption of the toga has taken place among the youths of Gower Street; and indeed it requires no less a person than old GOWER himself to come forth and explain the mystery.

From *Punch, or the London Charivari*, 1847, xiii, 194.

It seems, in 1853, to have been succeeded by the Literary and Scientific Society, which had the same objects and met at the same hour, but which disappears after 1855.[1] In 1853, there appeared a Chemical Society, which lasted until 1859.[2] In 1858 there was started a Reading-room Society,[3] following upon the establishment of a Students' Reading-room.[4] A university Union Debating Society was founded in May, 1857.[5]

If clubs were active, magazines were few. There is no trace of any college journals during the period. In 1842 there was founded a *London University Magazine*, which ran only for three numbers, but was revived in 1856 lasting until August, 1859, when it numbered 'New Series, vol. I,' after a first series of three volumes.

In April, 1848, the students came to a resolution to offer themselves in a body to be sworn in as special constables. The Council gave its consent, only putting its prohibition upon a procession to Bow Street.[6] In 1839 they had sought the sanction of the authorities to their adopting some scholastic dress, which was refused.[7] The project was revived more than once in the 'forties,[8] but seems never to have made much headway.

The first examination for degrees in the new University of London was held in May, 1839, and, as the regulations required candidates to produce a certificate that they had been students during two years at one of the institutions connected with the university, the college had itself to determine the conditions

[1] *Notes*, 89; *Cal.*, 1854, 249, 1855, 260, 1856, 256.

[2] *Cal.*, 1854, 250; *Notes*, 39, 75, 89; *London University Magazine*, i, 1856, 126–8, 192; O. L. Brady; A Short History of the Chemical and Physical Society [MS. in the college library], ff. 1–2.

[3] *Cal.*, 1859, 296; *Notes*, 19–20, 89–90.

[4] *London University Magazine*, iii, 1858, 890.

[5] *Ibid.*, ii, 1857, 384, iii, 1858, 254, 318, 382, 445, 510, 704, 832–3, 889, n.s., i, 47–8, 96, 190, 238.

[6] H. Crabb Robinson to Thomas Robinson, 7 Apr., 1848. Crabb Robinson MSS., Letters, 1848.

[7] Minutes, iii, 7 Dec., 1839.

[8] W. C. Williamson: *Reminiscences of a Yorkshire Naturalist*, 1896, 92; I. Giberne Sieveking: *Memoir and Letters of Francis W. Newman*, 1909, 107; *Punch, or the London Charivari*, xiii, 1847, 194.

upon which such a certificate would be granted.[1] From this date, consequently, the course of studies becomes much more methodical. Students commonly matriculated in the university from college rather than before entry,[2] and normally took two years for the B.A. The regulations required that the candidate should show a competent knowledge in the four branches of examination, Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, Animal Physiology, Classics, and Logic and Moral Philosophy. In addition he might sit for honours in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, Classics, Chemistry, Animal Physiology, and Vegetable and Structural Botany.[3] The college required attendance at the class examinations both before Christmas and at the close of the session, before a certificate of attendance would be granted.[4] Examinations, therefore, came to bulk very large in undergraduate life, and they were of portentous length. Jevons in 1853 complains that the sessional examination in mathematics was six hours long, while that in chemistry had lasted for eight.[5]

In 1848 a new element was added to undergraduate life by the foundation of University Hall, Gordon Square. From the start it had been contemplated that there should be denominational halls of residence in the neighbourhood of Gower Street and associated with the university. The Anglicans had proposed to establish such a hall for their members in 1828.[6] Sir Francis Goldsmid wished that the Jews College should be affiliated and should depend for secular instruction upon University College[7]; in 1833 Coward

[1] *Cf. Ann. Rept.*, 1839, 5–6, 20–37, 1840, 5–7, 18–29, 34–6.

[2] *Cf. Letters and Journal of W. Stanley Jevons.* Edited by his Wife, 1886, 15, 16–7; Mrs. Russell Barrington: *Life of Walter Bagehot*, 1914, 114–6; *Report of Commissioners on Education in Schools in England, not comprised with Her Majesty's two recent Commissions on Popular Education and Public Schools. Minutes of Evidence.* [Command paper] 3966, 318. H. of C., 1867–8, XXVIII, Pt. III.

[3] *The London University Calendar*, 1846, 40–1; *cf.* Mrs. Russell Barrington: *Life of Walter Bagehot*, 1914, 159.

[4] *Ann. Rept.*, 1840, 35.

[5] *Letters and Journal of W. Stanley Jevons.* Edited by his Wife, 1886, 15, 156; *cf.* 35.

[6] *Supra*, p. 58.

[7] *Memoir of Sir Francis Henry Goldsmid*, 2nd ed., 1882, 59.

College was removed from Wymondly to the building in Byng Place now occupied by College Hall, that its students might procure their literary and scientific education at the university[1]; and there had always been a strong body of unitarians among the proprietors. When therefore it was desired to celebrate the passage of the Dissenters' Chapels Bill, which was carried in July, 1844, the General Committee of the Presbyterian Union proposed the formation of some permanent memorial and suggested that it might be of an educational character, and in 1846 a committee appointed by it, meeting in Dr. Williams' Library, then in Red Cross Street, resolved "that a building be erected or obtained for the residence and accommodation of young men attending University College, London," the students to receive theological instruction "of that impartial character which is calculated to promote and stimulate religious inquiry and the exercise of private judgment." Funds were raised, and by June, 1848, contracts had been entered into for the erection of a building in Gordon Square after designs by Donaldson, a building which is now occupied by Dr. Williams' Library.[2] In all the proceedings Crabb Robinson took a great interest.[3] After his death a mural painting by Edward Armitage was put upon the walls of the dining hall, where it remains to-day, showing him surrounded by many of his most distinguished literary and artistic friends.[4]

The aims of the foundation were set out in an inscription which likewise still remains upon its walls.

"This hall was erected in commemoration of the passing of the Dissenters Chapels Act in 1844, 7 & 8 Victoria, chap: 45, that statute being the first recognition by the legislature of the principle of unlimited religious liberty. Until that statute the law assumed all worship to

[1] *Ann. Rept.*, 1833, 8; *cf.* 1834, 7, 9; *University of London. Address from the Senate to the Council in support of the Application of the University for a Charter*, 1834, 5; *Monthly Repository*, n.s., i, 1827, 170.

[2] J. Drummond and C. B. Upton: *The Life and Letters of James Martineau*, 2 v., 1902, i, 244–6; *The Times*, 21 July, 1848, 7 e.

[3] *Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson.* Edited by Thomas Sadler, 3 v., 1869, iii, 249–58, 286, 291, 296, 297, 312, 320–1, 322, 346, 348–9.

[4] *Ibid.*, iii, 528.

imply the propagation of some special dogmas to be determined by itself if not declared by the founders.

The objects of the founders of this hall were

To provide for students of University College London the accommodation and social advantages of college residence

To provide a place where instruction without reference to creed should be permitted in theology and other subjects not taught or not wholly taught in University College and disavowing all denominational distinctions and religious tests to maintain the sanctity of private judgment in matters of religion."

The first Principal was F. W. Newman, but he disagreed with the governing body about a matter relating to the construction of the building and resigned before the opening in October, 1849.[1] His successor was A. H. Clough.[2] He was not at his ease there.

"Well, my dear Tom," he wrote to Arnold on the 29th of October, "& here I am & here with Palgrave, breakfasting with me in my Hall, where we all i.e. myself and my eleven undergraduates (that should be 30 & I hope will be some day) breakfast & dine daily— . . . As I say I have no confidence in my tenure. For intolerance O Tom, is not confined to the cloisters of Oxford or the pews of the establishment, but comes up like the tender herb—partout. And is indeed in a manner indigenous in the heart of the family man of the middle classes. . . . A Sadducee, which is to say, an Unitarian, comes every morning to read prayers here. I who declined having any concern in it, submit to this, & condescend to be present. To such base compromises may we come. However it is an old man & a good creature, & I do not find myself offended . . ."[3] "I probably shan't publish," he wrote to another correspondent, referring to the *Amours de Voyage*, "for fear of a row with my Sadducees."[4]

[1] J. Drummond and C. B. Upton: *The Life and Letters of James Martineau*, 2 v., 1902, i, 246.

[2] *Prose Remains of Arthur Hugh Clough with a Selection from his Letters and a Memoir.* Edited by his Wife, 1888, 139, 143; Mrs. Russell Barrington: *Life of Walter Bagehot*, 1914, 180; F. W. Newman to H. C. R., 9 Nov., 1848. Crabb Robinson MSS., Letters, 1848.

[3] Clough MSS.; *cf. Prose Remains of Arthur Hugh Clough with a Selection from his Letters and a Memoir.* Edited by his Wife, 1888, 169–70.

[4] H. A. C. to J. C. Shairp [n.d.]. Clough MSS.

The managing body bewildered him and was by him bewildered. In spite of the mediation of Bagehot they never really understood one another,[1] and when, in 1851, he became a candidate for the principalship of a college at Sydney and thought it to be almost certain that he would be appointed, the committee pressed him to a premature decision and elected W. B. Carpenter in his place.

In 1853, part of the building occupied by University Hall was appropriated to the accommodation of Manchester New College. This institution, founded in 1786, had taken the place of the famous Warrington Academy. Opening in Manchester under the name of the Manchester Academy, it had been moved to York in 1803, where it became Manchester College, and back to Manchester in 1840, becoming Manchester New College. Its fortunes had been deeply affected by the foundation of London University, and its removal to London had more than once been mooted. It was suggested as early as 1829 that the institution in York could not compete with the new foundation in London and that it would do better to co-operate with it.[2] In 1838 removal to London was formally discussed as an alternative to going back to Manchester.[3] As early as 1844 some doubt was felt whether the return to Manchester and the recognition of the college as an institution whose certificate would be received in supplication for a degree in the University of London held an assurance of future prosperity, and the policy of establishing a connection with University College was revived. In 1851 the matter was clinched by the opening of Owens College, which finally destroyed any hope that Manchester New College might be itself the centre of higher education in the north. In December it was decided to establish Manchester New College in London "as a Theological Institution in connection, for literary and scientific purposes, with University College." In October, 1853, it took up its abode in Univer-

[1] W. Bagehot: *Literary Studies*. Edited by R. H. Hutton, 2 v., 1884, i, p. xxxiv.

[2] *Monthly Repository*, n.s., iii, 1829, 806, 877–9.

[3] J. Drummond and C. B. Upton: *The Life and Letters of James Martineau*, 2 v., 1902, i, 107–11.

sity Hall, the two institutions, however, remaining independent of one another.[1] Here it continued until its removal to Oxford in 1889.

In the years between 1829 and 1869 there was little change in the outward appearance of the college. Reference has already been made to the building of the Birkbeck Laboratory in 1845. In 1844 one of the rooms under the portico was fitted up as a dining-hall for the students.[2] In 1846 the main building of the hospital was completed by the erection of the north wing.[3] In 1849 a building was erected in the rear of the college in place of that destroyed by fire in 1836. The basement was allotted to the deposit of models of machinery and to a drawing school; the ground-floor provided two lecture rooms; the first floor became the general library. It was designed by Donaldson. At the same time the present main staircase was constructed and the vestibule completed and fitted to receive the Flaxman reliefs.[4] In 1858 it was found necessary to substitute a roof of slate slabs to the portico in place of the original cast-iron tiles.[5]

The creation of the Flaxman Gallery was the work of Crabb Robinson. It was, he once said, the single act of his life which would leave sensible and recognisable consequences after his death.[6] It was by his means that Miss Denman, the surviving executrix, sister-in-law and adopted daughter of Flaxman, presented the collection of the artist's works, consisting of the first casts in plaster from the clay originals, in some instances worked over by Flaxman himself, of about one hundred and forty *alti* and *bassi relievi*. To it was subsequently added a collection of Flaxman's drawings.[7]

[1] J. Drummond and C. B. Upton: *The Life and Letters of James Martineau*, i, 246–63, ii, 288–9; *Christian Reformer; or, Unitarian Magazine and Review*, n.s., ix, 1853, 51–70, 305–36, 384–93, 684–98.

[2] *Ann. Rept.*, 1845, 9, 1846, 8.

[3] *Ibid.*, 1846, 8, 1847, 8; *The Times*, 21 May, 1846, 8 a–b.

[4] *Ann. Rept.*, 1849, 7, 1850, 7; *cf. London Student*, ii, 127 (May, 1868).

[5] *Ann. Rept.*, 1858, 12.

[6] *Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson.* Edited by Thomas Sadler, 3 v., 1869, ii, 372.

[7] *Ann. Rept.*, 1863, 15.

The arrangement of the gallery was supervised by a committee which included Sir Charles Eastlake and C. R. Cockerell. It was regarded as an artistic event of no little importance. It was for several years the source of much trouble and not a little anxiety to Crabb Robinson, and he contributed liberally to the cost. He had the support, among others, of Samuel Rogers. The gallery was opened in 1851.[1] It became the meeting-place of the Graphic Society.[2]

At the end of this period, which, taking it all in all, was one of so much difficulty, the college was deeply affected by the grant of a new charter to the university. An agitation, which began in 1850 with a petition for the admission of graduates to the corporate body, ended in 1858 in a reform of the original constitution of the university whereby the whole system of affiliated colleges was abolished and the examinations of the university were thrown open to all, irrespective of the manner or place of their education, and, consequently, without the requirement of any certificate of studentship. Although supported by Grote and by Williamson,[3] the new constitution was regarded by the majority of the college with profound disapproval and indeed caused much future embarrassment. But there was some compensation in the fact that the new charter made provision for the grant of degrees in science, for in that lay the germ of much of the history of the 'sixties and 'seventies.

[1] *Ann. Rept.*, 1848, 8, 1849, 7, 1850, 6, 7, 1851, 7–8, 1852, 4, 7–8, 1857, 11–2, 1861, 12, 1867, 15; *Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson.* Edited by Thomas Sadler, 3 v., 1869, iii, *passim*; *Notes*, 33–4, 70; P. W. Clayden: *Rogers and his Contemporaries*, 2 v., 1889, ii, 315–7, 335–6; *Flaxman Gallery, University College, London. Treasurer's Report, with List of Subscribers, and Statement of Receipt and Expenditure*, 1848–1857, 1858; *Flaxman Gallery in University College, London. Catalogue*, 1852; Talfourd Ely: *Catalogue of Works of Art in the Flaxman Gallery, University College, London*, 1900; W. G. Constable: *John Flaxman*, 1755–1826, 1927.

[2] *Ann. Rept.*, 1856, 9; E. Walford: *Old and New London*, 6 v. [n.d.], iv, 570.

[3] *Cf. Ann. Rept.*, 1857, App., 1–2.

CHAPTER IX

THE REVIVAL: 1860–1880

Macaulay foretold of the university, in 1826, that while the spirit of its system remained unchanged, the details would vary with the varying necessities and facilities of every age. "Our College," wrote Crabb Robinson in 1865, "cannot be said to have thriven but in its *indirect* consequences." "I retain my old opinion," he had remarked some six months before, "that the institution will be, ultimately, a valuable one to the country, though not as originally intended."[1]

Contemporaries thought that they perceived in the middle 'sixties a steady improvement.[2] A glance at the statistical charts will show that they were not wrong. The college had won a place for itself, and the university had become a power in the English academic world, which was recognised beyond the bounds of Great Britain.[3] But the spirit found expression in a form very different from that which the founders had conceived. Certain features had shrunk into relative insignificance, certain others, latent in the original constitution, had grown out of all recognition.

With the removal of religious tests at the older universities, the college became less conspicuous for its liberality. With the growth of new provincial seats of learning, it was yearly to become less conspicuous for its novelty and less exceptional in its cheapness. With the development, both in the old seats and in the new, of the scope of academic studies, it became less peculiar in the breadth of its mind. It had

[1] *Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson.* Edited by Thomas Sadler, 3 v., 1869, iii, 505, 500.

[2] *Ann. Rept.*, 1867, 7, 1868, 8.

[3] *Cf. The North American Review*, ci, Boston, 1865, 523; *The Times*, 7 July, 1868, 12 c.

failed, where as a child of the utilitarians it should have succeeded, to become a great school of law and politics. Yet it remained a most inspiriting place to work in,[1] and in the 'sixties and 'seventies was upon the threshold of great material success. That this was so, was because it held in honour one, pre-eminently, among the precepts of its founders. It kept an open mind. It continued to be ready to give welcome to branches of learning which had not yet become orthodox. If its later reputation was to be won in new fields, it owed the victory to an old virtue.

i. Outward Changes

The break with the past is reflected in personal changes and in political development. The sixteen years between 1860 and 1876 saw the departure of the last of the early professors. Lindley and Merlet resigned in 1860, Potter in 1865, Hoppus and Richard Quain in 1866. De Morgan went in 1867. Grant died and Sharpey resigned in 1874. Key died in 1875. The last of them, Malden, resigned in 1876. In 1866, Brougham and Crabb Robinson, the one aged eighty-seven and the other ninety-one, last attended the annual distribution of prizes.[2] In 1870, Grote and Lord John Russell among the members of the first Council alone survived, and Grote died in 1871, and was succeeded in the presidency by Lord Belper,[3] while Atkinson, who had been secretary since 1835, retired in 1867, to be succeeded by J. Robson,[4] himself followed by Talfourd Ely in 1876.[5]

At the same time there was a change, both material and formal, in the constitution. The original proprietary character of the college had to all intents and purposes come to an end at a very early date. No interest was ever paid upon the shares, and the privilege of nominating students

[1] *Cf.* W. P. Ker: *Oration on the Founders and Benefactors of University College*, 1899, 12.

[2] *Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson.* Edited by Thomas Sadler, 3 v., 1869, iii, 512; G. V. Poore: *Oration on the History of University College*, 1897, 10–1.

[3] *Ann. Rept.*, 1872, 11; *D.N.B.*, *s.v.* Strutt.

[4] *Ann. Rept.*, 1867, 11–2, 1869, 12.

[5] *Ibid.*, 1876, 11.

to be admitted on advantageous terms was only exercised during the first two or three years and was then nullified by the admission of all students on the lower scale of fees. Since the shares were of no value, and since they became forfeit within six months of the death of a proprietor, unless transferred by his representatives to a nominee approved by the Council, the number of proprietors declined, and the decline was not counter-balanced by the creation of Fellows. It became, in consequence, increasingly difficult to obtain a sufficient attendance to enable the annual meeting to function.[1] In addition there was some doubt about the validity of the bye-laws made in 1842. A bill, therefore, was promoted, which became law in 1869, to alter the constitution of the college,[2] and a fresh set of bye-laws was drawn up.[3] The new constitution empowered the college to provide instruction for persons of both sexes, and added Fine Arts to the branches of knowledge specified in the charter. It transformed the proprietors and their nominees into members, with power to nominate their successors, and added to 'Members' (or 'Governors') and 'Fellows' a new class of 'Life Governors,' to be nominated by the Council or by twenty or more members, from certain specified classes of persons. It was hoped in this way to secure more effectually a permanent constituent body, and many distinguished names were procured.[4] But the measure did little to invigorate the constitution. The whole proceeding of an annual meeting continued, complained Henry Solly, to be "little better than a dull and not very creditable farce." "I came to the meeting," he added, "at about five minutes to four p.m. (the hour for which we were summoned), and found nobody there. I went to look at some of my old haunts, and, on returning in about ten minutes, learned that the

[1] *Ann. Rept.*, 1865, 4, 1866, 4, 1867, 16, 1869, 17.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1868, 4–5, 15, 1869, 4, 15, 16–8, 1870, 8; *Journals of the House of Commons*, cxxiv, index; *General Index to the Journals of the House of Lords*, 1864–1873, 186; *University College, London. Act of Parliament, passed June 24th*, 1869, *By-laws, adopted December 16th*, 1869; *amended February 28th*, 1872; *February 26th*, 1873; *December 12th*, 1885; *February 24th*, 1886; *February 23rd*, 1887; *Notes*, 68–9.

[3] *Ann. Rept.*, 1870, 8–9. [4] *Ibid.*, 1870, 5–6, 11, 1873, 5, 18, 1874, 4–5.

meeting was over!" and, as before, only on special occasions could enough members be collected together to enable the meeting to do more than its routine business.[1] The control of the institution had passed effectively into the hands of the Council and the Senate. Solly thought that this was a sign of degeneration, and that the college had become too close a corporation. The general body of members proved impotent when a dispute arose about an appointment to the chair of Philosophy. For many years Solly tried to secure the appointment of a professor of Political Science, but received little encouragement from anyone but Lord Reay, and could never get any further for want of a quorum.[2] That a great opportunity was thus lost, the subsequent history of the university was clearly to show. But for the time being the college was bent upon other things.

ii. Experimental Science

The college first won success as a medical school. Its second notable achievement was the service which it did to the promotion of experimental science.

The university, in exercise of the powers given to it by the new charter of 1858, issued in 1859 its regulations for the grant of the degrees of bachelor and doctor of Science.[3] In 1870 the college established a separate Faculty of Science. It was instituted to bring into full light the actual extent of the scientific teaching in the college and to meet the growing demand for instruction in science.[4] The influence of Williamson is clearly traceable. Great assistance was given by Sir Francis Goldsmid, son of Isaac Lyon Goldsmid.[5] The college, it has been remarked by one who was a student at this time, in relation to the older universities occupied, so far as classics and mathematics were concerned, very much the position of a Public School. In the faculties of Science and

[1] H. Solly: "*These Eighty Years*," *or, The Story of an Unfinished Life*, 2 v., 1893, ii, 480; *cf. Ann. Rept.*, 1871, 6–7.

[2] *Ibid.*, ii, 480–1; *Notes*, 100; *Abstracts*, v, 1894–5, no. 69.

[3] *Ann. Rept.*, 1860, 10; *cf. ibid.*, 1863, 10.

[4] *Ibid.*, 1871, 15.

[5] *Memoir of Sir Francis Henry Goldsmid*, 2nd ed., 1882, 73.

Medicine it was very different. Thither came mature students from the older universities themselves.[1]

Chemistry, as it has been observed, had led the way, and while the practice of experimental methods was stimulated by the success of Roscoe, when acting as examiner for the university between 1874 and 1878, in securing the introduction of practical laboratory work in the curriculum in chemistry for science degrees,[2] the department was further developed by the establishment of a chair of Chemical Technology in 1878, to which Charles Graham was appointed.[3] But the outstanding scientific achievements of the 'sixties and 'seventies were secured in the departments of engineering, physics, mathematics, and physiology.

The professorship of the Mechanical Principles of Engineering had been allowed to lapse on the death of Eaton Hodgkinson in 1861,[4] and, although a larger class than had existed for some years previously was formed during the brief tenure of the chair of Civil Engineering by Fleeming Jenkin, in the session 1867–8, and the Council, in pursuance of his suggestions for the extension and better organisation of the department, established in 1868 a new chair of Applied Mathematics and Mechanics,[5] no remarkable progress was made until the appointment of A. B. W. Kennedy[6] in 1874. With his advent a new period began.

William Pole,[7] professor from 1859 to 1867, while attaining considerable eminence as an engineer, had been a man of too many and various occupations to make any very notable contribution to the history of the department. His most enduring work for engineering was the service which he did as secretary to the Institution of Civil Engineers. But besides being an engineer he was famous as a musician and he was a leading authority upon the game of whist. As a

[1] *The Nineteenth Century and After*, lxxxvii, 1920, 292; *cf. The London Student*, v, 1868, 270; *The Times*, 1 Feb., 1869, 9 d.

[2] *The Life and Experiences of Sir Henry Enfield Roscoe* . . . Written by Himself, 1906, 337.

[3] *Ann. Rept.*, 1879, 14, 1880, 12; *cf. Account*, 1881, 11–3; *Journal of the Chemical Society*, xcvii, 1910, 677–80; *Journal of the Institute of Brewing*, xvi, 1910, 69–72. [4] *Ann. Rept.*, 1862, 11. [5] *Ibid.*, 1868, 11, 1869, 11.

[6] *The Times*, 2 Nov., 1928, 19 a-b. [7] *D.N.B., Suppl.*

musician he received an honorary degree in the University of Oxford, and he was an examiner for degrees in music in the University of London. Upon whist he was a very successful writer, some of his works running into many editions. His successor, Fleeming Jenkin,[1] the friend of R. L. Stevenson, who wrote a memoir of him,[2] and married to a niece of John Austin, was too short a time at the head of the department to do very much for it, and, as Fleeming Jenkin was attracted to Edinburgh by the fact that there his chair was endowed, so, four years later, his successor, George Fuller, in his turn left to accept a more lucrative post at Belfast.[3] In 1873 the department seemed to have but a doubtful future before it. It was a year before the Council was able to make an appointment to the chair.[4] As late as 1876 the department had so little reputation that for only one of the three exhibitions for engineering offered by Sir Joseph Whitworth was there any competition,[5] and Henry Solly complained that the Council failed to appreciate the importance of having a good engineering laboratory.[6]

Kennedy changed all this. The *Statement of Present Requirements and Proposal for Completion of the Building*, issued in 1878, contained the following paragraph:

"The formation is contemplated in a suitable quarter of the premises of a new Engineering Laboratory. The Council and Senate are desirous of making University College one of the chief places of Scientific Education for the Engineer. The proposal has been laid before, and highly approved by, more than fifty of the chief Engineers in the country, many of whom have written cordial letters expressing a wish to help in its development, and promising valuable assistance. A beginning has been made by the appropriation of a sum of money from the small resources at the disposal of the College towards the provision of the necessary fittings and appliances. . . ." [7]

[1] *D.N.B.*; *Bulletin*, v, 1927–8, 121.

[2] *Papers Literary and Scientific, &c. by the late Fleeming Jenkin* . . . Edited by Sidney Colvin and J. A. Ewing. With a Memoir by Robert Louis Stevenson, 2 v., 1887.

[3] *Ann. Rept.*, 1869, 11, 1874, 14.

[4] *Ibid.*, 1875, 19.

[5] *Ibid.*, 1876, 17.

[6] H. Solly: "*These Eighty Years*," *or, The Story of an Unfinished Life*, 2 v., 1893, ii, 482; *Ann. Rept.*, 1876, 5.

[7] P. 9.

The sum was £350. It was supplemented by a grant of £200 from the Gilchrist Trustees. A fifty-ton testing-machine was provided, from Kennedy's own designs, at much below cost, and a small compound steam engine was presented as a gift to the laboratory. This apparatus, with a vice, bench, and sundry tools, constituted the main equipment of the laboratory until the construction in 1893 of the present ground floor of the building facing Gower Street.[1]

[2] "With this nucleus Kennedy began a system of laboratory instruction which he gradually extended by the construction of all sorts of special apparatus, which had to be made out of nothing and which cost nothing. In this latter task he was helped, first by his assistant, Mr. R. H. Willis, and later by Mr. Ashcroft.

In particular the apparatus for registering automatically the details of the behaviour of a piece of soft iron at its yield point was constructed so successfully by Mr. Ashcroft, that the diagrams then obtained have never been improved upon. At a later date Mr. Henry Burstall took part in the same work and remained there until Professor Kennedy left in 1889, when Burstall left also to be his principal assistant.

In addition to his great gifts as a teacher, Kennedy enlarged the boundaries of engineering science in many directions by his laboratory researches on the strength and properties of materials and their applications to riveted structures, in the theory of mechanism by his well-known text-books and by his extensive series of experiments on the large scale to test the performance of marine engines and boilers. The scientific journals of this period bear witness to his versatility and insight into complicated engineering problems. Later, after relinquishing the professorship to devote his whole time to practice, he took a new direction into the rapidly developing field of electrical engineering, in which he speedily became a leading expert. Naturally, all the possible honours which can fall to the lot of so gifted an engineer have been his, the distinction of knighthood in 1905 for his eminent services in connection with naval boilers, the Fellowship of the Royal Society bestowed in 1887, the presidency of the Institution of Mechanical Engineers in 1894–5, the presidency of the Institution of Civil Engineers in 1906–7, and honorary degrees of various universities. . . ."

[1] *Ann. Rept.*, 1879, 15; Professor E. G. Coker: Engineering [Typescript in the college library], f. 6; *The Times*, 1 Oct., 1879, 10 b; H. S. Solly: *The Life of Henry Morley*, 1898, 311.

[2] Professor E. G. Coker: Engineering [Typescript in the college library], ff. 6–7.

In 1878 there was added to the department a chair of Mechanical Technology. It was supported by a grant from the City and Guilds Institute. It was held by Kennedy in conjunction with that of Civil Engineering.[1]

Closely allied with this establishment of an effective school of engineering was the development of the department of physics.

The resignation of Potter in 1865, and of De Morgan in 1867, made possible a readjustment of the relations of the teaching and study of pure mathematics and of mathematical and experimental physics. In 1865 Potter's work was divided into two professorships, that of Mathematical Physics and that of Experimental Physics, to which were appointed, respectively, T. A. Hirst, and G. Carey Foster, a former student of the college.[2] On the resignation of De Morgan in 1867, he was succeeded by Hirst, but the latter carried with him to his new chair some of the work of the professor of Mathematical Physics and was designated professor of Pure and Applied Mathematics. Foster, on the other hand, undertook to combine with his own work the remainder of that previously done by Hirst, and his title was changed to that of professor of Physics. The recently established chair of Mathematical Physics and the old title of Natural Philosophy alike vanished.[3]

[4] "Carey Foster [5] had acted for some years as assistant to Professor Alexander Williamson in the department of Chemistry. He left England in 1858 to extend his studies at the University of Ghent, under Kekulé, the University of Paris, under Jamin, and that of Heidelberg, under Quincke. All the time his interest became more and more directed to physical science, which was then assuming increasing importance under such men as Clausius, Helmholtz, Kelvin and others. The first evidence of his new interest is to be found in two articles on Heat in the first edition of Watts' *Dictionary of Chemistry*. These articles at once established his reputation as a clear thinker and able exponent of physics.

[1] *Ann. Rept.*, 1879, 14, 1880, 11, 12. [2] *Ibid.*, 1866, 9. [3] *Ibid.*, 1868, 10.

[4] Professor A. W. Porter: Department of Physics [Typescript in the college library], ff. 5–8; *cf. Abstracts*, ii, 29 June, 1880, pp. 5–16.

[5] A. H. Fison: *George Carey Foster. From the Transactions of the Chemical Society*, cxv, 1919, 412–27; *The Times*, 11 Feb., 1919, 5 d.

In 1862 he accepted a professorship of Natural Philosophy at the Andersonian Institution, Glasgow, and from there his old teacher, Williamson, persuaded him to return to London.

Carey Foster at once set to work to make his department correspond to its new title. Up to that time there had been no systematic teaching of the experimental side of physics in this country. Graduates had indeed visited various laboratories to extend their experience and taken part in the private researches of their professors; but that is a totally different thing from systematic practical tuition side by side with instruction in theory which is characteristic of a modern laboratory. The programme for the session 1866–67 [1] provided for such tuition and thus University College became the pioneer in this direction.

The movement begun by Carey Foster was followed by Grylls Adams at King's College in October, 1868, and R. B. Clifton at Oxford in 1872. In 1868, Adams visiting France and Germany found only one laboratory, that of Jamin at the Sorbonne, where similar instruction was going on. The Cavendish Laboratory at Cambridge was founded in 1871, but it was not till 1873 that the laboratory for students was first used.

The difficulties with which Carey Foster had to contend may best be visualised from the statement that at first only two rooms were available, one of them his own private room. Afterwards a room in the basement, known sometimes as the Dungeon, was added, in which a few research men could be accommodated along with a gas engine and a set of accumulators. Even as late as 1890, the present writer can testify, from his own experience, to the difficulties which research laboured under. Being able to work only a few days a week, his research apparatus was completely dismounted each week in order to make room for the undergraduate worker, and had to be built up again each following week. Yet in these exiguous quarters during twenty-five years, 1865–1890, Carey Foster built up a great reputation as a trainer of physicists and as an authority on precise physical measurements. He transformed the Wheatstone's Bridge from being an ordinary apparatus of measurement to an instrument of precision and the Carey Foster Bridge (1872) is one of the best known of modern devices. As a member of the British Association Committee on electrical standards he did work of a valuable kind which, owing to the unobtrusive nature of the man, will never be known as his to his successors."

Notable, however, as the progress may have been in engineering and in physics, there yet stands out above the

[1] *Cal.*, 1866, 22; *Ann. Rept.*, 1867, 16; *Notes and Materials*, 67.

achievements of those departments the work which was done for the advancement of the study of physiology by Michael Foster and J. S. Burdon Sanderson.

As early as 1853 Augustus De Morgan complained that in the physiology of the University of London the student learned only words descriptive of what he neither knew nor could know by words alone. The peculiar function, as he conceived it, of the new university was to accord a welcome to those branches of knowledge which progress had converted into disciplines. The great point in which a new university could teach the old something even on the fundamentals of education, was "the neglect of the discipline of observation, of language as connected with it, and of inference as immediately derived from it." "And how," he asked, "has the University of London fulfilled its especial mission? It has granted the existence of the deficiency, proclaimed its own intention to provide a remedy, and set its alumni diligently to work to read words and to look at diagrams about the way in which other people have used their eyes and their hands."[1] It was the work of Michael Foster and Burdon Sanderson to remove the ground of his complaint and in so doing to found the modern school of physiology.

Sharpey instituted a course in practical histology, and a Lectureship of Practical Physiology was established in 1856, "with the view of supplying the Medical Students with instruction in the use of the Microscope in examining the textures and fluids of the body."[2] At first the course was given in the summer term, and a part of the dissecting room was each year temporarily partitioned off to provide accommodation.[3] From 1859 it was given in the winter, and a separate room was fitted up.[4] But both the practical histology and the practical physiology or, more properly, pathology, consisted in little more than distributing sections made by the professors.[5]

The revolutionary changes began in the session 1866–7.

[1] S. E. De Morgan: *Memoir of Augustus De Morgan*, 1882, 222–5.

[2] *Ann. Rept.*, 1855, 8, 1856, 7, 9.

[3] *Ibid.*, 1857, 10.

[4] *Ibid.*, 1860, 11, 17.

[5] *Cf.* R. J. Godlee: University College, London, 1866–1872 and later [MS. in the college library], f. 4.

In January, 1867, Michael Foster[1] succeeded George Harley[2] as Instructor in Practical Physiology and Histology.[3]

Born in Huntingdon in 1836, the son of a medical man, Foster was educated at University College School and at University College, where he was the favourite pupil of Sharpey. Graduating in Arts with the first place in classics and the classical scholarship in 1854, he turned to the study of medicine, and after a distinguished career in the medical school, visits to Paris in 1859 and 1860, and a sea-voyage, dictated by the threat of pulmonary disease, as surgeon to the steamship *Union* proceeding to the Red Sea, settled down as a medical practitioner in Huntingdon in 1861, to return to London six years later at the invitation of Sharpey.

The most remarkable quality in the career of Michael Foster was the fertility of his mind and his great power of initiative. Clearness of aim and a great charm of manner procured for him the ready co-operation of his colleagues. An instinctive perception of ability and a power to inspire effort enabled him to gather round himself a band of capable and devoted disciples. Broad scientific knowledge and a reputation for sound judgment brought him a multitude of official duties. With these qualities and these opportunities, a lifetime of work bore very remarkable fruit. His influence was manifest from the date of his first appointment at the college, and, when he moved away, he became the creator of the Cambridge school of physiology. Founder of the *Journal of Physiology*, he took a large part in promoting the establishment of the Physiological Society and of the International Congress of Physiologists. Secretary of the Royal Society, he had a large share in the general organisation of the Meteorological Office, in the establishment of the National Physical Laboratory, in carrying out the Royal Society Catalogue of Scientific Papers, in starting the International Congress of Geodesy, in the formation of the International Association of Academies, and in the beginning of the

[1] *D.N.B., 2nd Suppl.; Bulletin*, v, 1927–8, 120.

[2] Mrs. Alec Tweedie: *George Harley, F.R.S. The Life of a London Physician*, 1899.

[3] *Ann. Rept.*, 1867, 11; Minutes, vi, 19 Jan., 1867.

International Catalogue of Scientific Papers. An active member of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, he served on various royal commissions and departmental committees, and added to all this, towards the end of his life, the duties of a member of parliament.

At the college he was raised to the rank of professor in 1869, and by 1870, when he visited Germany with Sharpey inspecting physiological laboratories and enquiring into the methods of instruction adopted in German universities, before taking up his appointment as Prælector in Physiology at Trinity College, Cambridge, he had greatly extended the practical work and had secured the establishment of a physiological laboratory.[1]

The work which Foster began was carried on by J. S. Burdon Sanderson. In 1871 changes in the regulations of the University of London, due largely to the influence of Huxley, who had acted as examiner in physiology and comparative anatomy from 1855 to 1863 and again from 1865 to 1870,[2] and in those of the Royal College of Surgeons, rendered obligatory upon all medical students the study of practical physiology and greatly enhanced the importance of the chair.[3] In the same year the department was strengthened by the foundation of the Sharpey Physiological Scholarship.[4] In 1872 the rapid increase in the number of students rendered necessary the provision of additional accommodation, and a new laboratory was erected in the North Cloister.[5] In 1873 T. J. Phillips Jodrell presented a sum of £7,500 for the permanent endowment of the chair of Physiology, on condition that the chairs of Physiology and of Practical Physiology and Histology should be combined, so that instead of two professors there might be one full professor, devoting his time largely to research, and one or more assistants.[6] In 1874, with the sum of £500 received from the same donor, the old Materia Medica Museum was converted into the Jodrell Physiological Laboratory.[7]

[1] *Cal.*, 1867, 66–7; *Ann. Rept.*, 1870, 15–6, 1871, 17.
[2] L. Huxley: *Life and Letters of Thomas Henry Huxley*, 3 v., 1903, i, 343.
[3] *Ann. Rept.*, 1871, 17. [4] *Ibid.*, 1870, 15, 1872, 18. [5] *Ibid.*, 1873, 18–9.
[6] *Ibid.*, 1874, 15–6, 1875, 19. [7] *Ibid.*, 1874, 16, 1875, 12, 19.

Appointed in place of Michael Foster in 1870, Burdon Sanderson[1] was elected, on the resignation of Sharpey in 1874, as the new Jodrell Professor of Human Physiology. He held the chair until he went to Oxford in 1882.

Born in 1829, and thus rather older than Michael Foster, he came of a remarkable family,[2] and was closely associated with the law, to the study of which his father had wished him to devote himself. The great-nephew of Lord Eldon and Lord Stowell, he became the brother-in-law of Lord Herschell and the uncle of Lord Haldane. But, educated at home and made free of the moorlands of Northumberland, he early became a great lover of nature, and he chose for his career medicine in preference to the law. Trained in Edinburgh under Goodsir and Hughes Bennett, and in Paris under Wurtz and Claude Bernard, he started in private practice in London in 1853, and soon obtained a number of medical appointments, of which the most engrossing were those of Medical Officer of Health for Paddington and Inspector under the Medical Committee of the Privy Council. Both of these appointments involved him in much pathological work, to which he brought the experimental methods which obtained on the continent in connection with physiology and which he had learned from Claude Bernard. From more strictly pathological studies his mind, with its constant bent towards scientific enquiry, was gradually drawn more and more to physiology. In 1867 he resigned his appointment as medical officer in order to have more time to devote to his scientific work. In the same year he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society and invited to deliver the Croonian lecture, and at about the same date he was, through the friendship of Sharpey, afforded the opportunity for further experimental work by admission to the laboratory at University College. His appointment to the chair of Practical Physiology and Histology in 1870 marked the final abandonment of professional activities and the dedication of his life to scientific work.

Finding that he had not scope at college for all that he

[1] *D.N.B.*, *2nd Suppl.*; *Bulletin*, v, 1927–8, 118.

[2] F. Galton and E. Schuster: *Noteworthy Families* (*Modern Science*), 1906, 12–3, 28–30.

wanted to do, and desiring to have a laboratory entirely under his own control, he fitted up a room in 1870 in Howland Street, where he invited to work with him Lauder Brunton, D. Ferrier, E. Klein, and E. A. Schäfer, and in 1872 a further sphere of activity was opened to him by his appointment as first Professor Superintendent of the Brown Institution. On his accession to the Jodrell chair in 1874, Schäfer, who had acted as his assistant since 1870 in the capacity of Sharpey Scholar, became his assistant professor, and took charge of practical histology. The teaching of physiological chemistry was delegated to T.J.M. Page.[1] Practical physiology Sanderson reserved for himself.[2]

"Unless, perhaps, with Cohnheim in Germany," it has been said, "no more stimulating group could possibly have been found than those who were at work in the '70's in Burdon Sanderson's laboratory."[3] "It is impossible for any one to understand," wrote Sir Lauder Brunton, "the enormous influence he exercised upon Physiology and Pathology if one looks only at his original discoveries. Great and important as these were, the main work of his life may be said to have been that he entirely revolutionized both teaching and research in Pathology and Physiology in this country. He changed the teaching from didactic to experimental, and while before his time research was almost entirely confined to microscopical work, he introduced experiments of all kinds."[4]

"In 1875," wrote Horsley, "the traditional views of physiology were essentially anatomical in character, and one of the most impressive features of Burdon Sanderson's lectures was the vivid interest of his teaching that physiology was the philosophy of function and the study of active life and living things. . . . Starting from such a high and broad standpoint of biology, Burdon Sanderson at once raised his subject from an imperfect guessing at the meaning of structure to the level of a precise experimental science of applied physics and chemistry. By thus placing it on its proper basis of exactitude, and by illustrating it with the close logical Harveian method of experimental research, he succeeded in impressing

[1] *Ann. Rept.*, 1871, 16, 1875, 18, 19.

[2] *Cf. Sir John Burdon Sanderson. A Memoir by the late Lady Burdon Sanderson, completed and edited by his Nephew and Niece, with a Selection from his Papers and Addresses*, Oxford, 1911, 95, 96.

[3] H. Cushing: *The Life of Sir William Osler*, Oxford, 1925, i, 93.

[4] *Laud., Sir John Burdon Sanderson. A Memoir . . .*, Oxford, 1911, 76.

his hearers with the conviction that accuracy was to be the prime factor through all their work. In this way he did infinitely more than 'teach his subject,' he actually inculcated the principles which should guide the student throughout his whole curriculum." [1]

But the far-reaching influence which he exercised was the triumph not only of remarkable scientific attainments, but also, and perhaps even more, of a great personality.

"So far as the outward image goes," wrote Professor Allbutt, "Burdon Sanderson will not fail to live in the memory of every man who had ever seen him, were it but once. No one could see him and forget him. Unlike Acland as he was in feature, in the big frame, the rugged, lean face, the deeply-set eyes, high cheek bones, and strong jaw, which we Northerners know and prize so well as the signs of strength of purpose, dauntless courage, and tenacity of homely affections—unlike Acland as in these respects he was, and, like his kinsman, Burdon of Castle Eden, one of the great Chairmen of Quarter Sessions in the old days—, yet in some other respects of his picturesque personality Burdon Sanderson was strangely like his distinguished predecessor [at Oxford], in the tall frame, the distinguished carriage, the noble head, and the dreamy, ascetic look telling of an idealism of life and purpose which were apt to carry both of them aloof—sometimes far aloof—from the temporal and local conditions of our life here below." [2]

A poor lecturer, and often difficult to follow,[3] he won the admiration of his students rather for what he was than what he said.

"I fancy that upon me, as upon others," wrote Gotch, "his impressive personality was at first rather awe-inspiring. The really suggestive character of his lectures was to some extent obliterated by this, and by other features which all remember and love him for exhibiting. Intense interest was aroused by his attitude, his voice, manner, and many little familiar incidents associated with his absorption in the subject-matter of his exposition. These incidents invested what he did with somewhat of the same charm that the conjuror awakens in juvenile spectators, and we were in a state of suppressed excitement based on the uncertainty as to what Dr. Burdon Sanderson might do next." [4]

[1] *British Medical Journal*, 1905, ii, 1490 a. [2] *Ibid.*, 1489 a.
[3] *Sir John Burdon Sanderson. A Memoir . . .*, Oxford, 1911, 93, 126.
[4] *British Medical Journal*, 1905, ii, 1483 a.

His notorious absent-mindedness became a legend. But the lecture, in his system, lost much of its importance, and that which counted, whether in the lecture-room or the laboratory, was the hold which his personality obtained upon the younger men and the interest which he took in their work.

The influence exercised by the school thus established by Michael Foster and Burdon Sanderson was very remarkable.[1] The publication in 1873 of the *Handbook for the Physiological Laboratory* by Klein, Burdon Sanderson, Foster, and Lauder Brunton was the signal of a revival of physiological studies, in which this country had fallen behind France and Germany. Michael Foster carried the new teaching to Cambridge, and the modern developments of biological science in that university have been attributed primarily to his influence.[2] Newell Martin, a student under him at the college, whom he took with him to Cambridge, became professor of Physiology in Johns Hopkins University, and exercised a far-reaching influence on teaching and the development of research in America. Burdon Sanderson himself was the founder of the modern school of biological studies at Oxford. Among those at work in the laboratories at University College between 1870 and 1882, and the contributors to the *Papers of the Physiological Laboratory of University College* between 1874 and 1881, were Sidney Ringer, G. J. Romanes, Victor Horsley, F. W. Mott, Patrick Geddes, Francis Gotch, J. Rose Bradford, W. M. Bayliss, A. D. Waller, P. H. Chapman, W. Osler, Carl Rëyher, R. Marcus Gunn, H. R. O. Sankey, G. F. Dowdeswell, J. Cossar Ewart, Augustus Waller, D. J. Williams, and F. A. Dixey.[3]

To this account of the Faculty of Science must be added a record of Daniel Oliver,[4] who succeeded Lindley as professor of Botany in 1860, though it was not until 1880 that botany developed into a laboratory subject.[5]

[1] *Cf. Royal Society Proceedings*, lxxix, B, 1907, *Obituary Notices of Fellows Deceased*, xvi–vii.

[2] *Journal of Physiology*, xxxv, 1907, 241.

[3] *Cf.* list in *Notes and Materials*, 82–90.

[4] *The Times*, 22 Dec., 1916, 11 c; *University College Union Magazine*, viii, 1917, 61–3.

[5] Professor F. W. Oliver: Botany [MS. in the college library], f. 9.

[1] "In 1860 the chair of Botany was what would now be called a part-time appointment. Its main duty was the delivery of a course of fifty lectures on General Botany, to medical students chiefly, during the summer session. Beyond this duty, supplemented by a few practical demonstrations in microscopical botany, the presence of the professor was not required at the college.

In view of Oliver's work at Kew, it was desirable that his course should be held, as in the case of his predecessor Lindley, either at the beginning or the end of the day. His proposal to adopt Lindley's hour of 4.0 p.m. was frustrated by Potter, professor of Natural Philosophy, who took the opportunity of a change in the chair to annex this hour for his own purposes. Under the circumstances the hour of 8.0 a.m. was fixed on for Botany, and this was retained until his retirement in 1888. Oliver lived at Kew in an official residence adjacent to the Gardens. In these days the only railway station serving Kew was Kew Bridge, and no train was early enough for the purposes of the 8.0 o'clock lecture. He was aroused each morning at 5.0 a.m. by the Gardens night-constable rapping on the bedroom window with a pole till an answering hand was shown—varied on Fridays by the hand releasing an agreed gratuity of 2*s.* 6*d.* for the week's service. This routine remained unbroken for twenty-eight years. At 6.0 a.m. a cab rumbled away with the professor to Hammersmith, whence the journey to Gower Street was completed on the Metropolitan Railway. The long interval between his arrival at the college and the beginning of the lecture was occupied in the distribution of specimens at each student's place; every day six specimens were dealt with, a quarter of an hour being taken from the lecture for this purpose. In this way some three hundred living specimens came under the direct notice of the class,—a very high collective efficiency in Systematic Botany was the result."

Born in 1830, a Northumbrian by origin, Oliver had, after a brief period as lecturer in Botany at a local medical school, been attracted by the Hookers to Kew, where he became keeper to the Herbarium. Under his guidance was formed an incomparable collection of plants which in the 'sixties, 'seventies, and 'eighties of last century made Kew the botanical Mecca of the systematists of all lands. He resigned his office at Kew in 1890, and devoted the remaining twenty-six years of his life to drawing and painting.

[1] Professor F. W. Oliver: Botany [MS. in the college library], ff. 6–7.

iii. Mathematics

The distinction enjoyed by those departments which contributed so much to the advance of experimental science was shared by that of mathematics, which became a member of the new Faculty of Science while at the same time retaining its place in the old Faculty of Arts and Laws.

In pursuance of the readjustment of the duties of the old chairs of Mathematics and of Natural Philosophy one further change was made in 1868. T. A. Hirst,[1] appointed professor of Pure and Applied Mathematics in 1867, when he carried over to his new chair part of the duties which he had performed as professor of Mathematical Physics, found the combined work to be too much, ceased to lecture on applied mathematics, and became professor of Mathematics simply, while a new chair of Applied Mathematics and Mechanics was instituted, to which were allotted the duties previously assigned to that of Mathematical Physics, and to which the Council appointed T. B. Moore. To the new chair was assigned the duty of providing the courses in mechanics, hydrostatics, and astronomy required by candidates for the B.A. and B.Sc., and the instruction in applied mechanics for students of engineering.[2]

A master at University College School, an old Marburg student and an intimate friend of Tyndall, Hirst belonged to a remarkable group of scientific men, and was a member of the *x* Club,[3] but the work of his professorship was so heavy and incessant as to leave him no time for original mathematical investigation and ultimately to overtax his physical strength.[4]

"His appearance was striking," recalled Mr. Neuman. "He was tall, and held himself erect, with an almost military air. He had a long black beard and a great, bald, dome-like forehead. He was a man with whom it was impossible to imagine the most audacious student venturing to take a liberty. There was something about him that invested his unlovely subject with dignity, if not with interest. Less, perhaps, than

[1] *D.N.B., Suppl.; Bulletin*, v, 1927–8, 120.

[2] *Ann. Rept.*, 1869, 11; *Notes and Materials*, 66–7.

[3] L. Huxley: *Life and Letters of Thomas Henry Huxley*, 3 v., 1903, i, 370.

[4] *Notes and Materials*, 56.

any of the other professors, did he seem to think of examinations. To him, I believe, incredible as it sounds, mathematics must have been a solemn, high pursuit ; a passion, if not a religion. Yet with all his aloofness of manner he could be very simple, very patient, and extremely kind. Certainly to one of his most hopeless pupils he showed himself all three." [1]

He resigned in 1870 to become Assistant-Registrar to the university. From 1873 to 1883 he was Director of Naval Studies at the Royal Naval College, Greenwich.

Hirst was succeeded in the chair of Mathematics by O. M. F. E. Henrici.[2] He exchanged the chair of Mathematics for that of Applied Mathematics and Mechanics in 1880. He was an experienced and able teacher, and Sir Walter Raleigh recalled the " masterly ease and freedom " of his exposition.[3] A Dane by birth, educated in Germany, he introduced the teaching of projective geometry into the curriculum of the mathematical classes, thus freeing the chair from the trammels of the old Cambridge analytical school,[4] and when he left in 1884 to become professor of Mechanics and Mathematics at the Central Technical College, he established there a laboratory of mechanics, which was the first of its kind in the country and became the model of many others.[5]

Like the departments of Latin and Greek, that of mathematics suffered from the growing competition of the older universities. De Morgan had experienced a falling off in his classes.[6] The average number of students attending the lectures of the professor of Applied Mathematics and Mechanics was only nineteen, and Moore resigned abruptly at the beginning of the session 1870–1, and the Council was

[1] B. P. Neuman : *Gower Street in the 'Seventies* in *The Nineteenth Century and After*, lxxxvii, 1920, 293.

[2] *Proceedings of the London Mathematical Society*, 2nd Series, xvii, 1918, pp. xlii–xlix.

[3] Sir Walter Raleigh : *The Faith of England. An Address to the Union Society of University College, London, delivered March* 22, 1917, Oxford, 1917, 4.

[4] *Notes and Materials*, 56, 61.

[5] Professor M. J. M. Hill : Some account of the holders of the Chair of Pure Mathematics [MS. in the college library], f. 5.

[6] S. E. De Morgan : *Memoir of Augustus De Morgan*, 1882, 340 n., 373.

unable to find a successor.[1] In their dilemma, Sir Francis Goldsmid came to their aid with the guarantee of £200 a year in augmentation of the income of the chair,[2] and in 1871 W. K. Clifford[3] was appointed.

Educated at Exeter, at King's College, London, and at Trinity College, Cambridge, Clifford was twenty-six at the time of his appointment. He died when he was thirty-three. He made upon his contemporaries a profound impression. His death, and that of Francis Balfour, had, Huxley thought, been the greatest loss to science—not only in England, but in the world—in his time.[4] And the judgment of his contemporaries has been confirmed by posterity.

[5] "Clifford seems destined to remain one of the historic figures of mathematics. To this day investigators are continually rediscovering in his works the origin or the suggestion of what have since been far-reaching developments. His thought ran greatly upon what may be called the philosophy of mathematics, and indeed his early training . . . fitted him peculiarly for this task. He was one of the pioneers, so to speak, of non-Euclidean space, and some of his conceptions of space are appealed to nowadays by the followers of Einstein."

He was a man of attractive personality, distinguished by his mirth and humour and the possession of a mind of extraordinary alertness and flexibility, the enemy of all formality and mere routine, and delightful in its fertility and originality. A mathematician engaged upon the most difficult and abstruse of metaphysical and scientific problems, he was also a good classical scholar and a cultivated student of history and of the literature of his own country, read French, German, Spanish, and modern Greek fluently, and had besides some small knowledge of Arabic, and an interest in Sanskrit. As a teacher he was most impressive.

[1] *Notes and Materials*, 60; *Ann. Rept.*, 1871, 17.

[2] *Memoir of Sir Francis Henry Goldsmid*, 2nd ed., 1882, 73–4; *Ann. Rept.*, 1872, 14, 1876, 19.

[3] *D.N.B.*; *The Times*, 22 April, 1929, 16 c, 25 April, 1929, 12 d.

[4] L. Huxley: *Life and Letters of Thomas Henry Huxley*, 3 v., 1903, iii, 355.

[5] Professor L. N. G. Filon: Notes for the History of the Department of Applied Mathematics [MS. in the department], ff. 3–3a.

"Much of his best work was actually spoken before it was written. He gave most of his public lectures with no visible preparation beyond very short notes, and the outline seemed to be filled in without effort or hesitation. Afterwards he would revise the lecture from a shorthand-writer's report, or sometimes write down from memory almost exactly what he had said." [1]

But he drove himself recklessly. A remarkably fine gymnast, he took a pride in the severe discipline of his body, and he was inexorable in the demands which he made upon himself. A paper which he wrote on *The Unseen Universe* was composed at a single sitting which lasted from a quarter to ten in the evening till nine o'clock the following morning, and his article on Virchow's address, which some consider his best, was written in a similar way.[2] Signs of pulmonary disease appeared in 1876. For a time there was a fair prospect of recovery. He died in 1879.[3] During his illness W. W. Rouse Ball [4] acted as his deputy. Oliver J. Lodge took his place in the session 1878–9.[5]

iv. Arts and Laws

In spite of the presence of teachers of note, the Faculty of Arts and Laws can show little in this period which can compete with the work which was being done in the Faculty of Science. Classics stood at a natural disadvantage, which was greatly increased when the older universities removed the bar of religious tests.[6] The teaching of modern languages rose but little above mediocrity, save in the person of Cassal. In law, economics, and history the college was curiously unsuccessful. Except for that of W. K. Clifford in mathematics, the work of two men alone stands out notably above the rest, that of Henry Morley in English, and of G. Croom

[1] *Lectures and Essays. By the late William Kingdon Clifford* . . . Edited by Leslie Stephen and Frederick Pollock, 2 v., 1879, i, 8; *cf.* B. P. Neuman: *Gower Street in the 'Seventies* in *The Nineteenth Century and After*, lxxxvii, 1920, 297–8.

[2] *Ibid.*, i, 20–1.

[3] *Ibid.*, i, 21–7; L. Huxley: *Life and Letters of Thomas Henry Huxley*, 3 v., 1903, ii, 259–60.

[4] *The Times*, 6 April, 1925, 16 d.

[5] *Ann. Rept.*, 1879, 14.

[6] *Cf. Notes and Materials*, 17.

Robertson in philosophy. There is one notable fresh departure, the foundation of the Slade School.

The departments of Greek and Latin did not lack distinguished scholars, but their reputations were for the main part won in other fields. Malden's long tenure of the chair of Greek ended in 1876, and his successor, the Rev. William Wayte,[1] only held the chair for three years. In the chair of Latin Newman was succeeded by J. R. Seeley.[2] "He always gave me the impression—probably a correct one—," recalled one of his students, "of being profoundly bored by the whole business. His thin-lipped, clean-shaven face had, in repose, something cold and sarcastic in its expression."[3] He kept order, recalled Dr. Bourne Benson, by sarcasms which cut like a whip.[4] He left after six years to become Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge. *Ecce Homo* was published while he was still a professor at the college. A fine and learned scholar, his real interest did not lie in linguistics.[5] Of his successor, Robinson Ellis,[6] the very reverse was true, but his stay, also, was short.

[7] "Strange of appearance and painfully short-sighted, with a quaint simplicity of manner and a child-like ignorance of his fellow men, he was in many ways but ill-qualified to teach the young. But he had an intense enthusiasm, wide reading in many languages and a real appreciation of literature. He was one of the most learned, though not one of the wisest that have ever held a chair of Latin. His industry was amazing, more especially when the physical handicap of his weak sight and other infirmities is considered. And his industry was perhaps surpassed by his kindness

[1] *The Times*, 6 May, 1898, 9 f. [2] *D.N.B.*

[3] B. P. Neuman: *Gower Street in the 'Seventies* in *The Nineteenth Century and After*, lxxxvii, 1920, 293; *cf. Report of Commissioners on Education in Schools in England not comprised within Her Majesty's two recent Commissions on Popular Education and Public Schools. Minutes of Evidence.* [Command paper] 3966, III, 792–7. H. of C., 1867–8, XXVIII, Pt. IV.

[4] J. B. Benson: Some Recollections of University College in the 'Sixties [Typescript in the college library], f. 3.

[5] Professor H. E. Butler: Notes on Previous Occupants of the Chair of Latin [Typescript in the college library], f. 1.

[6] *D.N.B.*, 1912–1921.

[7] Professor H. E. Butler: Notes on Previous Occupants of the Chair of Latin [Typescript in the college library], f. 2.

of heart. To the clever student he could be a stimulating teacher, despite his tendency to lead him into the bye-paths of learning. In later years he became professor of Latin at Oxford, and worked with scarce diminished energy almost till the very end. His most famous work is his monumental edition of Catullus, but he left voluminous opuscula behind him, characterised by the same tireless erudition."

A picture has been drawn of him by one who was a student under him at college.

"His appearance suggested an intellectual oddity, and he certainly lived well up to the suggestion. He was very tall, though a pronounced stoop took off some of his inches. He walked with a curious rocking gait, as if his legs were a little over-weighed by his head and body. His forehead was . . . big and bald . . . his hair and beard were reddish . . . His eyes were small and weak . . .

In the class-room he was the strangest mixture of hyper-efficiency and lamentable incompetence. He was, of course, a brilliant scholar, and heart and soul in his work. His translations were lessons in English as well as in Latinity. He was always fully prepared, and easily master of his subject. But he was deplorably, pathetically unfit to manage and control the high-spirited, mischievous boys who formed the bulk of his junior classes. He began by treating them with an elaborate politeness that, coming from so quaint a personality, appealed to the graceless youths as an exquisite joke. . . . On the other hand, he would break out into gusts of petulant anger on the very slightest provocation . . . [and] with a perverse ingenuity that was, I am sure, quite unintentional, he sometimes said and did exactly the wrong thing. . . . But perhaps," added the writer, "it is ungenerous and ungrateful to dwell on the foibles of a really great scholar. With one exception I owe more to him than to any other of the Gower Street professors, and I often recall the pleasant hours I spent at Hampstead, reading, under his guidance, the pages of his beloved Catullus." [1]

He returned to Oxford in 1876.

The dull record of the teaching of modern languages was relieved when in 1860 Merlet was succeeded as professor of French by Cassal. Born at Altkirch in 1818, he began life at the French bar and was elected as the representative of the Haut-Rhin to the Legislative Assembly in 1849, where

[1] B. P. Neuman: *Gower Street in the 'Seventies* in *The Nineteenth Century and After*, lxxxvii, 1920, 293–5.

he sat with Lamartine, Barthélemy St. Hilaire, Tocqueville, and others of that band. Bitterly opposed to the *coup d'État* he was driven into exile in 1852. In England he made the acquaintance of Key, and became a master at University College School.[1]

"His personality," writes Sir Gregory Foster, "was very vigorous, and was felt directly he entered his class-room. He was an orator in the best sense of the word and made a deep impression on his hearers. His knowledge of the French language, literature, history, and institutions, was amazing. In style and composition he was exact and precise; in his literary appreciation he was vivid and obviously sincere. His lectures on French literature were enriched by a profound knowledge of contemporary history and institutions. He was not in any sense a philologist, having been born before the science of language really existed, but as a teacher of contemporary French, he was, in my experience, unsurpassed." [2]

He gave evidence on the French educational system before the Schools Enquiry Commission in 1867.[3]

In the department of Law in the 'sixties there was something very near to complete failure. The department did not lack distinguished teachers, but they failed to attract more than a handful of students. In the sessions 1867–8 and 1868–9, the largest class formed was that in Roman Law, which numbered eight. Some classes were not formed at all.[4] In 1869 a committee was appointed by the Council to investigate the situation.[5] It expressed the opinion that it was useless for the college to try to compete with the Inns of Court or the Incorporated Law Society in the provision of professional training, and that the courses hitherto offered

[1] A. Robert & G. Cougny: *Dictionnaire des Parlementaires français*, Paris, 1889, i, 601; *The University College School Magazine*, Oct., 1883–July, 1885, 169.

[2] Typescript memo. in the college library.

[3] *Report of Commissioners on Education in Schools in England not comprised within Her Majesty's two recent Commissions on Popular Education and Public Schools. Minutes of Evidence.* [Command paper] 3966, 169–90. H. of C., 1867–8, XXVIII, Pt. IV.

[4] *Report of the Committee on the Law Classes, to the Council of University College, London*, [1869], 2; *cf. Ann. Rept.*, 1869, 12.

[5] *Ann. Rept.*, 1870, 12.

were not well-suited to the needs of candidates for the London degrees of LL.B. and LL.D. It recommended that the college should set itself to the provision of a training which should be a suitable preparation for these degrees and should seek a wider public by the provision of more popular lectures upon constitutional history and law, which it was hoped might prove acceptable not only to professional men, and candidates for degrees and civil service appointments, but also to a larger class of general students. More professional subjects, it suggested, the college, on the whole, had better drop.[1] In accordance with these recommendations the department was reorganised.[2] A new chair of Roman Law was established, to which the Council appointed W. A. Hunter. The chair of English Law disappeared, and in its place there was instituted that of Constitutional Law and History, filled by the election of J. W. Willis Bund.[3] To the chair of Jurisprudence, which during his brief tenure Roby[4] had in effect converted into a chair of Roman Law, there was appointed Sheldon Amos. The appointments represented a great accession of strength.

The name of Willis Bund is well known to students of constitutional history. That of Hunter[5] is a landmark in the history of the study of Roman Law.

[6] "I had the privilege," writes Professor Murison, "of knowing Hunter when I was but a boy—a raw loon of twelve or thirteen in a parish school in Aberdeenshire—and he was already showing promise of his brilliant University career. I remember vividly how fluent, incessant, and confident was his talk, on our many summer rambles,—talk of the University, of books, of men, and especially of the political questions of the day—opening up to me long vistas in new and amazing worlds. Among the rest I remember his eager admiration of Austin. Little did I imagine then that he himself was destined to sit in the chair of this wonderful Austin; still less, if less were possible, did I imagine

[1] *Report of the Committee on the Law Classes, to the Council of University College, London*, [1869].

[2] *Ann. Rept.*, 1870, 12–3, 1871, 10.

[3] *The Times*, 9 Jan., 1928, 19a.

[4] *D.N.B.*, 1912–1921.

[5] *D.N.B.*, *Suppl.*

[6] Professor A. F. Murison: The College Record in Legal Studies [Typescript in the college library], ff. 13–4.

that I myself was destined to succeed him both in the chair of Roman Law and in the chair of Jurisprudence. At the University of Aberdeen Hunter was in his fourth and last year when I was in my first; after he had gone up to London in a blaze of academic glory and had become professor here, I still kept in touch with him; and when I came to London he was one of the only four men I knew personally in the place. By this time he had published his monumental work on Roman Law . . . From my intimate association with him and his work, I do not hesitate to say that he knew more than anybody else about the inscrutable question of railway rates . . . He was leading counsel for the associated traders, and eventually was invited to become the legal advisor of the Board of Trade when the government enquiry was instituted. In 1885 he had been elected M.P. for North Aberdeen, a seat he held by enormous majorities till 1896, when he was struck down by paralysis. For many years he was a Tutor and a Reader to the Inns of Court and he served two terms of five years as examiner in the University. But politics killed him: he died in 1898. True, he gained free education for Scotland, and helped to promote advanced ideas; he very narrowly missed office, the Presidency of the Board of Trade. But the pitiful thing is that he missed the glory of reshaping and completing the work of Austin—a task that probably no other man was more fitted to accomplish. Remembering our late master, Professor Bain, . . . I should hesitate to call Hunter the acutest logician I ever met, but I should except none but Bain, not even Austin himself. And Hunter was not only a logician of exceptional quality; he was also an accomplished lawyer, practical as well as theoretical. He will always remain one of the most brilliant ornaments of our Law department."

Sheldon Amos[1] was the fourth son of Andrew Amos, first professor of English Law. Graduating at Cambridge in 1859 with honours in both mathematics and classics he was a man of notable attainments and a gifted teacher.

"He was essentially truthful, direct and natural in speech," recorded one who had heard him, "and there was no marked difference whether his audience consisted of a few friends by the fire side, or of hundreds of strangers in a public meeting. As a public speaker he was not oratorical, his speeches did not begin with any carefully prepared opening sentences, nor end with a specially weighty and eloquent period. There was no art about them; the man rose and talked, that was all—talked easily, fluently, conversationally, but his audience speedily found themselves

[1] *D.N.B., Suppl.; Bulletin*, v, 1927–8, 118.

listening with careful, rapt attention, for the speaker had something original to say and was plainly giving out himself in his own manner. In an unstudied attitude, possibly with hands in pocket, or clasped behind his back, swaying himself gently backwards and forwards as he stood with one foot crossed over the other, invested with the grace of absolute personal refinement and self-forgetfulness—deeply interested in his argument, not thinking about himself nor his audience, though feeling their presence and their attention. . . ." [1]

Yet he was not really successful as a professor of Jurisprudence. Profoundly religious, associated with the Cambridge evangelicals, and later intimate with the Positivists, he was an active supporter of women's suffrage and allied causes, and was more interested in social reform than in the academic study of law.

"The mind of Sheldon Amos," wrote Sir Roland Wilson, "was cast rather in the mould of the preacher, than in that of the scientific investigator. . . . The commencement of his career as Professor of Jurisprudence synchronised with the opening of a great public controversy, . . . the great crusade for the equality of the two sexes before the law, for constitutional liberty against continental police tyranny. . . . In the competition between two exacting pursuits, the scientific study of Jurisprudence lost some part at least of what the cause of concrete justice gained. . . . The visible record of his labours in this department, which is embodied in his 'Survey of the Laws for the regulation of Vice,' has, I fancy, . . . a better chance of retaining its place on the shelves of sociologists and law-reformers, than any other of his numerous publications. . . ." [2]

He is reported once to have declared that the interest of lecturing heightened as the numbers of a class diminished and culminated when the audience was reduced to one. "Then," he said, "when there's only one man left, I *know* I can make him think my thoughts." [3]

Always a delicate man, his health gave way. He sought recuperation in the South Seas, and eventually settled in Egypt, where he died in 1886.

Roman Law must always remain caviare to the general.

[1] *Remembrances of Sheldon Amos by a Few Friends*, Leeds, 1889, 5–6; *cf.* 30.
[2] *Ibid.*, 62–7. [3] *Ibid.*, 100.

Constitutional Law and History proved to be less popular than had been hoped. Amos was unequal to the labour of doing two things at once. The reforms of 1869 brought in a more meagre harvest than the reformers had expected of them.

In law, as in history and economics, in fact, the professors were little more than visiting lecturers, whose emoluments were not sufficient to procure a greater share of their services, and whose activities were inadequate to the creation of a flourishing school of studies in any of their several departments.

The chair of Political Economy was distinguished in the 'sixties and 'seventies by the names of J. E. Cairnes,[1] L. H. Courtney,[2] and W. S. Jevons,[3] yet none of them managed to put very much spirit into the department. Cairnes was an invalid.

"There was something awful—I use the adjective advisedly—," writes Mr. Neuman, "about that Political Economy class-room; something at once profoundly sad and loftily inspiring. Strong and well, Cairnes must have been a fine figure of a man. One could see that, even from the wreck of him that was painfully convoyed along the corridor, and slowly lifted into and out of the professorial chair. The pale countenance, set and grim, relaxing rarely into a smile, told its own tale of tortured nerves, and a high spirit waging a hopeless battle with inevitable doom. Every now and then we saw his face distorted by some uncontrollable throe of pain. The next moment he was himself again, taking up quietly the thread of argument and illustration dropped, but still unbroken." [4]

Born in Ireland in 1823 and educated at Trinity College, Dublin, he had, after a rather desultory early career, won by examination the Whately professorship of political economy at Dublin in 1856, moving to Queen's College, Galway, in 1859. His reputation was established in 1862 by the publication of a work entitled *The Slave Power*, a masterly defence of the cause of the Northern States. He settled in London in 1865. An injury to his knee incurred in the

[1] *D.N.B.; Bulletin*, v, 1927–8, 118.

[2] *D.N.B.*, 1912–1921. [3] *D.N.B.; Bulletin*, v, 1927–8, 121.

[4] B. P. Neuman: *Gower Street in the 'Seventies* in *The Nineteenth Century and After*, lxxxvii, 1920, 297.

hunting-field led to the development of rheumatic gout and he gradually became a complete cripple, but he never lost his intellectual vigour and even when he had become a hopeless invalid continued to exercise considerable political influence, and was at his death at the head of contemporary economists. Cliffe Leslie acted as his deputy during the session 1867–8.[1]

Cairnes was followed by Courtney, but his tenure of the chair was very brief.[2] John Morley was a candidate for the succession,[3] but the Council chose W. S. Jevons. He found the state of the class discouraging.[4] A former student of the college, where his interest had been concentrated upon physical science,[5] Jevons came back to London from the chair of Logic and Political Economy at Owens College. Appointed in 1875, he was not free to leave Manchester until 1876,[6] and for the first session Professor Foxwell acted as his deputy. The course had hitherto consisted of one lecture only, each week. Jevons at first increased this to two.[7] But he hated lecturing even more than he hated examinations, his literary pre-occupations continually grew upon him, and though an impressive teacher, his nervous framework, as he put it, was not made for the platform, and, as his health declined and his spirits grew more variable, he found the duty of meeting his class at the appointed hour an intolerable burden.[8] At his inaugural lecture "the attendance," he reported, "was poor, and there was no liveliness worth speaking of." When he resigned in 1880 he did so with regret and left his successor with a well-filled classroom.[9] Yet the college was not much nearer than it had been before to possessing anything which could be called a school of political economy.

In the department of History there is much the same story to tell. Creasy was succeeded in 1860 by E. S. Beesly.[10] He

[1] *Ann. Rept.*, 1868, 11 ; *Cal.*, 1869, 65.

[2] *Cf.* G. P. Gooch : *Life of Lord Courtney*, 1920, 106–7.

[3] F. W. Hirst : *Early Life and Letters of John Morley*, 2 v., 1927, i, 214.

[4] *Letters and Journal of W. Stanley Jevons.* Edited by his Wife, 1886, 344, 347. [5] *Ibid.*, 116. [6] *Ibid.*, 336, 343. [7] *Ibid.*, 363.

[8] *Ibid.*, 285, 415, 419, 420, 425 ; *cf. Royal Society Proceedings*, xxxv, 1883, *Obituary Notices of Fellows Deceased*, x–xi.

[9] *Ibid.*, 362, 419. [10] *The Times*, 9 July, 1915, 11 d.

held the chair for thirty-two years, and left the subject, as he had found it, one of little importance. It had but slight value in the B.A. examination, and the fees were small. A professor remunerated merely by fees, he said, could not be expected to undertake to teach the occasional candidates for the M.A.[1] He contented himself with appearing in college once or twice a week to deliver his lectures and walking away,[2] combining, for twenty-nine out of the thirty-two years, with his professorship of History at University College that of Latin at Bedford College.

"History," wrote a foreign critic referring to the work which was being done at University College and at King's College, "plays but a secondary part and boasts but one professor in each institution. In University College, Mr. E. S. Beesly, one of the most distinguished of English positivists, teaches general, ancient, mediæval, modern, and contemporary history. In 1883–1884, he devoted to these subjects one hour a week, on Thursdays. Of these, ten lectures were given to Roman history, from the death of Sulla to that of Cæsar; fifteen to tracing in broad outline the history of Europe from the close of the Middle Ages to our own day. In accordance with the positivist doctrine, the program was inscribed, 'The object of this course is to represent the history of the West as a continuous and natural evolution.' About twenty-five students attended Mr. Beesly's course." History in London, the writer added, was "still in an embryonic state."[3]

Yet Beesly was a man of great force of character, and has a place, secure, if but a small one, in the domestic history of England during the nineteenth century. A member of a group of undergraduates at Wadham College, Oxford, in the early 'fifties, including J. H. Bridges and Frederic Harrison, who found their inspiration in Richard Congreve, Beesly became, as has been remarked, one of the leaders among English Positivists and was the joint translator of Comte's *Positive Polity* and the translator of his *Discourse on the Positive Spirit*. But his more notable contribution to English politics was the service which he did, in collaboration

[1] *Notes and Materials*, 36–7.

[2] R. W. Chambers: *Philologists at University College*, 1927, 30.

[3] P. Fredericq: *The Study of History in England and Scotland. Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science.* 5th Series, No. x, Baltimore, 1887, 48–9, 50.

with Frederic Harrison, for the removal of the legal disabilities of trade unions. In his advocacy of the cause of Labour he incurred much unpopularity, and at a crisis in the story the action of the college was not without reproach.

Beesly succeeded Carpenter as principal of University Hall. At the outset of his career Crabb Robinson[1] evidently felt a little nervous lest he should overstep the bounds of propriety. "He is extreme in his opinions," he wrote in 1861, "and I fear this may interfere with his usefulness. He is going to attend a meeting of bricklayers, and says they conduct business better than scholars."[1] In 1867 he brought down upon his head a hurricane of indignation. In 1865–6 acts of violence were committed in Sheffield, and an explosion which occurred in October, 1866, was traced to persons connected with the Saw-Grinders' Union.[2] The event was the signal for an outburst of animosity against the whole trade union movement. The unions for their part held a number of meetings to dissociate themselves publicly from methods of violence. At one such meeting Beesly attended and spoke. He said that too much was being made of the crimes of Broadhead, that trade unionists had now quite sufficiently protested their innocence, that the rich had not met publicly at all to dissociate themselves from the crime of Governor Eyre with which they might be supposed to be associated, and that the middle classes by raising a 'great dust' about the Sheffield outrages were trying to hinder the cause of reform. "I think I hardly remember any man who received, during an equal length of time," wrote Justin McCarthy, "a greater amount of abuse from the press."[3] "We only know one thing in connection with this revolting subject calculated to inspire as much disgust as the Sheffield revelations, and that is Professor Beesly's way of talking about them," said *Punch*,[4] and thenceforth it called him

[1] *Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson.* Edited by Thomas Sadler, 3 v., 1869, iii, 482.

[2] S. & B. Webb: *The History of Trade Unionism*, 1907, 242–4, 252.

[3] Justin McCarthy: *Reminiscences*, 2 v., 1899, ii, 215; *cf.* F. Harrison: *Autobiographic Memoirs*, 2 v., 1911, i, 316–21.

[4] *Punch, or the London Charivari*, liii, 1867, 14; *cf.* 17, 23.

'Professor Beastly.' A serious effort was made to have him dismissed from his professorship. On the 23rd of July Sir Francis Goldsmid moved in the Council:

"That the Senate be informed that the Council have under consideration the removal of Prof^r. Beesly from his chair, on the ground that the speech delivered by him at Exeter Hall on the 2nd of July, and the letters addressed by him to the Editor of the Daily News, & published in that Newspaper on the 9th & 10th of July, shew Professor Beesly to be unfit to be intrusted with the instruction of young men in History. That the opinion of the Senate be requested to the proposed removal."

The proposal was seconded by Denman. But Grote, although he had been much annoyed by the episode,[1] moved the previous question, and after a discussion it was carried by a large majority and the issue was thus shelved.[2]

Very different from the records of Law, Economics, and History, is that of the department of English under Henry Morley.[3]

Appointed in December, 1865, he ranks with Earle and Skeat as one whose work marked the end of one era and the beginning of another in English studies.[4] To trace the story of his life and of his services to the college is to tell a tale of almost incredible activity.

Born in 1822, the son of a London doctor, he was destined for the medical profession, and after a childhood which brought a good deal of suffering in English boarding schools and great happiness at a Moravian school in Germany, whither he was sent, alone, at the age of eleven, he entered King's College as a medical student in 1838. Obtaining a licence to practise, but without a degree, he left London in 1843, and after a year in Somerset, bought a partnership in Shropshire. The transaction was a swindle, his partner proved to possess not even a legal title to practise, and Morley separated from him, carrying with him debts which it took him twelve years to pay off and which made the period from 1844 to 1852 a time of great difficulty. To the stress of so unpropitious a beginning he added in 1848 a determination

[1] Mrs. Grote: *The Personal Life of George Grote*, 1873, 289.
[2] Minutes, vi, 23 July, 1867. [3] *D.N.B.*; *Bulletin*, v, 1927–8, 121.
[4] R. W. Chambers: *Concerning Certain Great Teachers of English*, 1923, 5–15.

to change his profession. He felt satisfied that he would never enjoy more than very moderate success in medicine, but that he was meant to be a teacher and that he could win for himself a place in literature, "a kindly honourable place," though not, perhaps, as he put it, among the grandees of the world,[1] and he began again, at the bottom of the ladder, without credentials, without capital, without experience, as a schoolmaster, becoming first a pupilless tutor in Manchester and then the proprietor of a small school in Liverpool. "I seek to be more than an eater, drinker, sleeper, and transactor of pecuniary affairs in this world . . .," he wrote in January, 1849. "I have chosen a path which offers to me henceforth a purely intellectual life . . . I *shall not* be disappointed if I live, die, and remain obscure (although I don't expect to do so)."[2] When he wrote thus, he was twenty-six years of age, and possessed of a house in Manchester furnished with a portmanteau, two boxes, and a packing-case.

A lover of literature from the age of fifteen, he had always cherished literary ambitions and had already shown much literary activity. He attracted some attention in 1847 by the publication of two *Tracts upon Health for Cottage Circulation*.[3] They led to a connection with the *Journal of Public Health*, and that, in its turn, to employment upon the *Examiner*, then edited by John Forster. The work done for Forster attracted the attention of Dickens, and Morley began to write for *Household Words*. In 1851 he came to London, at the invitation of Dickens, to join its staff.

In London, Morley, although never a great frequenter of literary society, became intimate with Forster and Dickens and met many men of note, including Meredith, Furnival, Edwin Chadwick, and James Gairdner. By the last, destined to become his brother-in-law, he was introduced to Brewer, and through Brewer he was appointed, in 1857, lecturer on English literature in the evening school at King's College.[4] In 1864 appeared the first volume of his *English Writers*. It procured him his election in succession to Masson.

[1] H. S. Solly: *The Life of Henry Morley*, 1898, 156.
[2] *Ibid.*, 107.
[3] *Cf.* H. Morley: *Early Papers and Some Memories*, 1891.
[4] H. S. Solly: *The Life of Henry Morley*, 1898, 231.

Of the variety and extent of his activities while he held the chair of English Language and Literature it is only possible to give some hint. He had become sole editor of the *Examiner* in 1861 and continued so to be until November, 1867. In 1868 he began lecturing in the provinces for the Ladies' Educational Association, the forerunner of the University Extension Movement, in which he continued to be active for ten years. In 1874 he began lecturing to schools, and started to give courses at the London Institution. From 1876 there were added courses at the Royal Institution. From 1877 to 1879, he was Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Laws, and took a very active part in the government of the college. In 1878 he became professor of English at Queen's College, Harley Street, and in 1882, principal of University Hall. His lectures at college amounted at one time to something like twenty-two hours a week,[1] he was engaged in countless literary activities, and in 1883 became the pioneer in the production of cheap reprints as editor of *Morley's Universal Library*, and he was always ready to spend time and energy to invigorate the social life of the college, was the prime mover in the foundation in 1884 of the University College Society, the forerunner of the Union, and established and ran, from 1886 to 1889, the *University College Gazette*.

His programme for the session 1878–9, when, it is to be remembered, he was also Dean, includes sixteen lectures at University College on the first three days of the week, with an hour elsewhere in the middle of Mondays, and a Wednesday evening lecture in the East End on the 1st of Nov., and at Finchley on the 4th of Dec. For the second half of the week it runs:

"Thursday.—10 to 11, Queen's College: Literature of Eighteenth Century; 11.15–12.15, Language.
Lectures at Forest Hill (6), St. John's Wood (4), Sydenham (4), and Croydon (6), afternoons and evenings.
Friday.—Birmingham, 3 to 4, and 6 to 7.
Saturday.—Princess Helena College (2), 10.30 to 12.
Public Lecture, Sheffield, Thursday, November 14." [2]

[1] *Cf.* H. S. Solly: *The Life of Henry Morley*, 1898, 258.
[2] *Ibid.*, 312–3; *cf.* 273, 274–5, 280, 314–5, 317, 336.

Such activity was in part stimulated by the insufficiency of his salary,[1] but the multiplicity of his engagements seems never to have interfered with his work at college. He was a most inspiring teacher and the department grew rapidly under his hands. In 1865 he found that he had 52 students. By 1872 he had 108. After the admission of women the number rose to 203, though in his latter years it fell again, and in 1888 stood at 109.[2]

"When I first knew him," wrote Mr. Neuman, "he must have been in his prime, though his classes were still small in comparison with what they afterwards became. He was of the middle height, broad and stoutly built. His features were large and strongly marked, the expression full of energy and resolution, the whole face wonderfully brightened and also softened, by the keen, quick-glancing, humorous eyes. I think he was the kindest man I have ever known, and at the same time one of the most strong-willed and independent. . . .

Enthusiasm is not nearly so rare an endowment as the power to excite it. He had both. You could not hear him lecture without feeling that the zeal of his subject had eaten him up, and you could not look round you without realising that his classes were a preparation for life as well as for examinations. About most of the other professors I remember sharp divisions of opinion. I can hardly recall any of my fellow-students who did not swear wholeheartedly by Morley.

Outside the lecture-room his influence was as potent as inside it. We all knew that he was passionately devoted to the College, and that its interests and ours were his too. In the sports, in the societies, and in such social life as is possible in a non-residential college, he was always to be relied upon. I cannot remember anyone with a grievance against him. The discipline in his classes was never that of the martinet. He secured order and attention without having to demand them. But his kindness had no kinship with weakness. The only time I can remember seeing him really angry was when his women's class was rudely interrupted by a band of roistering medicals. He went to the door, and with a dozen stern words scattered the noisy crew like thistledown. I do not think he was ever troubled in that way again.

It is not easy to analyse his merits as a lecturer. He never strained after effect. His manner was simple, natural, almost conversational. But he spoke with the authority that comes from first-hand knowledge.

[1] H. S. Solly: *The Life of Henry Morley*, 1898, 262–3.
[2] *Ibid.*, 261–2; *cf.* 319–20.

He was upon terms of such close and familiar intimacy with the great English writers that you felt he was the very man to introduce you to them. Indeed, he was not so much a critic as an interpreter, with a breath from the pulpit thrown in. That he was inclined to preach cannot be denied, and he certainly would not have thanked anyone for attempting to deny it. In his eyes it was one of the glories of English literature that our greatest writers have been, with rare exceptions, augustly didactic." [1]

The figure which he makes in the history of the college is comparable with that of De Morgan. Signs of strain began to show themselves in 1883. He retired in 1889, and died, still full of work, at the age of seventy-one, in 1894.

The department of philosophy was not distinguished by the prosperity which was enjoyed by that of English, but in G. Croom Robertson it found a chief of the first rank, though his appointment was the occasion of a dispute second in the annals of the college only to that which ended in the dismissal of Pattison.

The Rev. John Hoppus, who had held the chair of Logic and Mental Philosophy since 1829, resigned in 1866. His tenure must be accounted a failure and its prolongation had been a great trial to Grote.[2] The antecedents of the college were such as to give peculiar importance to the subject, and its position in the university curriculum had been improved by the new regulations of 1858.[3]

The applications of the candidates had to be sent in by July, 1866, and stood referred to the Senate for report to the Council, whose duty it was to make the appointment. The report was received by that body at its meeting on the 4th of August. The Senate recommended James Martineau,[4] then a man of sixty-one, joint occupant with J. J. Tayler of the pulpit of Little Portland Street Chapel

[1] B. P. Neuman: *Gower Street in the 'Seventies* in *The Nineteenth Century and After*, lxxxvii, 1920, 296–7; *cf.* H. S. Solly: *The Life of Henry Morley*, 1898, 232, 258, 259–60, 283–4, 285–6, 288–90.

[2] Mrs. Grote: *The Personal Life of George Grote*, 1873, 279.

[3] *Ann. Rept.*, 1860, 6; *Philosophical Remains of George Croom Robertson* . . . Edited by A. Bain . . . and T. Whittaker, 1894, 173–6.

[4] *D.N.B., Suppl.*

and professor of Mental, Moral, and Religious Philosophy in Manchester New College, where his classes were attended by many students from the college.[1] Contrary to its usual policy the Council ignored the recommendation. Only nine members were present. Grote moved:

"That the Council consider it inconsistent with the complete religious neutrality proclaimed and adopted by University College, to appoint to the chair of the Philosophy of Mind and Logic a candidate eminent as Minister and Preacher of any one among the various sects dividing the religious world."

He was defeated by 5 votes to 4. Upon the motion to appoint Martineau the division was equal, and the chairman, Lord Belper, gave a casting vote against him. The matter stood adjourned until the next meeting of the Council in November.[2]

In the interval the vacancy was again advertised, without attracting any fresh candidates, and the press was filled with a lively polemic. Upon the plea that, although no new candidates had appeared, one of the old ones had sent in additional testimonials, the Senate was called upon to make a second report. They said, after reviewing the testimonials:

"We have no hesitation in concluding that Mr. Croom Robertson is exceedingly well qualified to fill the vacant chair; and that of the candidates whose claims we have examined up to this point, he is the ablest, and, as far as we can judge, the most learned, and the most likely to rise to eminence, and to raise the reputation of the College. But there yet remains upon the list the name of Mr. James Martineau. As the Senate has already recommended the appointment of Mr. Martineau, and the Council has declined to appoint him, the Senate does not think it necessary to present a second report concerning him."[3]

On the 3rd of November the proposal to appoint Martineau was again defeated. On the 8th of December

[1] J. Drummond and C. B. Upton: *Life and Letters of James Martineau*, 2 v., 1902, i, 409.

[2] Minutes, x, 4 Aug., 1866; J. M. B. Meiklejohn: *Life and Letters of William Ballantyne Hodgson*, 1883, 153–4; P. W. Clayden: *Samuel Sharpe*, 1883, 244–6.

[3] S. E. De Morgan: *Memoir of Augustus De Morgan*, 1882, 338, 352.

the Council elected G. Croom Robertson[1] to the vacant chair.[2]

The decision of the Council had been foreseen and an attempt was made to forestall it. A requisition was preferred by fourteen Fellows of the College and six other Proprietors for a Special General Meeting to consider the course taken by the Council in refusing to appoint Martineau. The requisition came before the Council at its session of the 8th of December, a legal objection was raised, and the matter was referred to the Law Officers of the Crown. When their report was received, the appointment had been made. A statement in support of the Council was issued by fifteen of the professors,[3] and the proprietors, meeting on the 2nd of February, 1867, had virtually no alternative but to confirm the action of the Council. At the Annual General Meeting, those who contended for what they regarded as the old principles were again beaten.[4]

It was said, and not without much reason, that Martineau was defeated by a combination of philosophers who disliked him as an idealist, orthodox churchmen who disliked the Unitarian, and members who, without holding any very decided opinions in philosophy or theology, feared that such an increase in Unitarian influence as his election would mean would be contrary to the interests of the college.[5] By many the action of the Council was regarded as a desertion of the principles upon which the college had been founded. Holding

[1] *D.N.B.*

[2] Minutes, x, 8 Dec., 1866; *Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson.* Edited by Thomas Sadler, 3 v., 1869, iii, 519–20; *D.N.B., s.v.* Grote, 733–4.

[3] *Statement addressed to the Proprietors of University College . . . (Signed.) H. Malden* [etc.]; *cf.* S. E. De Morgan: *Memoir of Augustus De Morgan*, 1882, 346–57.

[4] J. Drummond and C. B. Upton: *Life and Letters of James Martineau*, 2 v., 1902, i, 412; *Ann. Rept.*, 1867, 6.

[5] S. E. De Morgan: *Memoir of Augustus De Morgan*, 1882, 341–2, 350–1, 369, 374; J. Drummond and C. B. Upton: *Life and Letters of James Martineau*, 2 v., 1902, i, 409, 411; Mrs. Grote: *The Personal Life of George Grote*, 1873, 282; *University College & Mr. Martineau.* Reprinted from *The Theological Review* for January, 1867, 9, 10; A. W. Jackson: *James Martineau. A Biography and Study*, 1900, 96–7.

such an opinion, De Morgan resigned his chair[1] and refused even to allow a bust or picture of himself to be placed in the college which seemed to him to have done homage to the evil which it was created to oppose.[2]

In defence it was argued, first, that the Council was justified in ignoring the advice of the Senate since, in this instance, it was competent to pass upon the professional attainments of the candidates, and since something more than a question of professional competence was in issue[3]; secondly, that its decision was justified, since Martineau was unsound as a philosopher,[4] the professorship of Philosophy was upon a footing different from that of the other chairs,[5] and a deliberate attempt had been made by the Unitarians to foist upon the college a member of their own sect.[6] But the attitude of Grote calls to mind that of Jefferson at the time of the foundation of the University of Virginia. At Virginia complete freedom was to be allowed to all the professors with one exception. The professor of Law must not be a Federalist.[7] It is hard not to agree with De Morgan that there had been an appeal to the old principle of exclusion and that the only novelty lay in the fact that it operated to the benefit instead of to the disadvantage of the secularist. The principle became explicit in the terms of the endowment of the professorship of the Philosophy of Mind and Logic received by the college in 1872 under Grote's will.

"I earnestly desire," runs the trust deed, "that the principle distinctly recognized when University College was founded as being of essential and paramount importance, that is to say, abstinence from all religious teaching and neutrality between all varieties of opinion in

[1] S. E. De Morgan: *Memoir of Augustus De Morgan*, 1882, 339–45; J. Drummond and C. B. Upton: *Life and Letters of James Martineau*, 2 v., 1902, i, 412–3.

[2] S. E. De Morgan: *Memoir of Augustus De Morgan*, 1882, 360–1.

[3] *Ibid.*, 348. [4] *Ibid.*, 349–50. [5] *Ibid.*, 353–4, 357.

[6] *Ibid.*, 337; Mrs. Grote: *The Personal Life of George Grote*, 1873, 279–80.

[7] P. A. Bruce: *History of the University of Virginia, 1819–1919 . . .*, 5 v., N.Y., 1920–2, i, 15, 327–9; W. P. Trent: *English Culture in Virginia. Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science.* 7th Series. Nos. v–vi, Baltimore, 1889, 122.

matters of religion shall at all times be faithfully and exactly carried out, and I consider it inconsistent with that principle that the Professorship of Philosophy of Mind and Logic should be held by a Minister of the Church of England, or of any other religious persuasion, who shall at any time have undertaken as his Professional duty to inculcate the particular creed or doctrines of the Church or party to which he belongs; if therefore any such Minister should at any time or times be appointed by the Council to the Professorship of Philosophy of Mind and Logic, or if any Professor of Philosophy of Mind and Logic, having been when appointed a Layman, shall subsequently take Orders or become a Minister of any such creed or doctrines as aforesaid, I direct that no payment shall be made to him out of the present endowment, but that the annual Income when received shall, so far as the law will admit, be reinvested and added to the principal, until the time when the said Professorship shall be occupied by a Layman . . ."

The whole dispute, it has been said, may be traced to Crabb Robinson's manservant. That individual wanted to go to Brighton, and he withheld from his master the notice of the meeting of the Council on August the 4th until he had got him safely away from London, which he left on August the 1st. Crabb Robinson shared the opinions of De Morgan. Had he been present on the 4th, Martineau would have been elected.[1]

Unfortunate, however, as was the manner of his election, there can be no two opinions about the merits of George Croom Robertson.

[2] "There can be no doubt that in Croom Robertson the college possessed one of the most remarkable and acute minds that ever devoted itself to psychological and philosophical research. His lectures on psychology were a masterly treatment of the whole field, and can only be ranked with Ward's lectures at Cambridge and Adamson's at Manchester and Glasgow. They went at once to the fundamental problems and his discussion of these was invariably penetrating and suggestive. . . . Moreover, Croom Robertson's immense erudition was notorious;

[1] H. Solly: "*These Eighty Years*," *or, The Story of an Unfinished Life*, 2 v., 1893, ii, 484–5; *Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson*. Edited by Thomas Sadler, 3 v., 1869, iii, 515.

[2] Professor G. Dawes Hicks: Department of Philosophy [MS. in the college library], ff. 10–1; *cf. Journal of Philosophical Studies*, iii, 1928, 473–7.

he had an intimate acquaintance with all the great philosophical classics, and his critical judgments, whether one accepted them or not, were at least those of a powerful, candid and richly stored intellect."

His own writings were not voluminous. He was extremely conscientious in his professorial as in all other work. For some years he took an active part in college affairs. He became editor of *Mind* upon its foundation in 1875, and for sixteen years expended untold labour upon it. For the last twelve years of his life he suffered from a painful disease, by which he was often incapacitated. Yet all that he did was marked by a characteristic thoroughness. His edition of Grote's posthumous work on Aristotle is regarded as a model of editorial methods.[1] His writings on Hobbes, based on a careful study of manuscript sources, though but a fragment of what he had planned, are highly regarded by philosophical students. Many of his occasional papers were subsequently collected in a volume of *Philosophical Remains*.

Twenty-four years of age at the time of his appointment, he had been educated chiefly in Scotland and in Germany, but he had attended lectures at the college in 1861–2. He was a member of the Metaphysical Society. A keen advocate of women's suffrage, he was the intimate of John Stuart Mill and Leslie Stephen, and of the men and women who gathered round them, and he was one of the Sunday Tramps.[2] He retained his chair until May, 1892, though he had previously on three occasions had to depute another to do his work. He died in September of that year. Mrs. Rhys Davids (Miss C. A. Foley), one of a considerable number of his students who afterwards became well known, has recorded what he was like as a teacher.

"I speak as one who only came to know Croom Robertson in recent years," she wrote, "when he had nearly accomplished a term of respite between two attacks of the malady which finally carried him off. . . . It was not often indeed that he looked other than jaded and 'driven'

[1] *Philosophical Remains of George Croom Robertson* . . . Edited by A. Bain . . . and T. Whittaker, 1894, xiv.

[2] J. Sully: *Reminiscences of Professors. George Croom Robertson* in *The University College Gazette*, iii, 1901–4, 250 b.

when he entered his class-room, promptly closed the window next him, or else drew on with swift dexterity his black silk skullcap, and took his seat. A guide of *la grande montagne* once said as we set out, 'one should always start as if one did not quite know what one meant to do.' Under-assertiveness of this kind characterised the beginning of Croom Robertson's lectures. He did not exactly 'fool around,' but, placing in front of him a minute porte-feuille of notes, which he never consulted, he would commence, gazing side-ways up the sky, in a high-pitched, weary, distant voice, the words dropping from him clear and rhythmic, but with detachment and indifference. . . . But this apathetic phase was short-lived. Energy either grew upon him as he broke fresh ground, or blazed up suddenly, but it never failed to respond to the mute demand in the eyes that were attentive, to the need in those that looked carelessly, and to hold us in the sleepiest hour of the student's day, wakeful, spell-bound, as though not logical sequence alone, but δύναμις ἐξελθοῦσα from the ardent, eloquent spirit were stirring one and all to receptive activity . . . Leaning often far over the table as though he would project his own insight into his *parvulos trahendos*, he seemed to be wrestling with the ignorance, or callousness, or false views in each several mind, his glance for the most part directed just over the heads of the class, yet apparently conscious of each student's mental progress. . . . But wherever and whenever his voice was raised to instruct, his utterances were invariably characterised by a severe and concentrated eloquence—an eloquence which clothed every thought in purest English, which never ran away with him, which rigorously abstained from analogy and metaphor, and yet, impelled by full conversance with its matter, repeated each point in a double or triple paraphrase of words, securing a maximum clearness, and allowing each following mind to overtake and take in. . . ."[1]

While the success of Henry Morley and the quality of the work of Croom Robertson bore witness to a revival of energy in the Faculty of Arts and Laws, the most conspicuous event in the history of that department was the foundation of the Slade School of Fine Art.

The college had employed a drawing master since 1840,[2] and in 1853, Kinkel, formerly of Bonn, had given a course of lectures on the History of Modern Painting and Sculpture.[3] It had given a home to a collection of Flaxman's works, and

[1] Caroline A. Foley: *George Croom Robertson as a Teacher*. Reprinted from *Mind*, n.s., ii, No. 6.

[2] *Ann. Rept.*, 1841, 6; *cf.* 1849, 7.

[3] *Ibid.*, 1854, 7.

it had become the meeting-place of the Graphic Society. That, hitherto, had, with the foundation of a chair of Architecture in 1841, been the full extent of recognition accorded to the fine arts. In 1868, Felix Slade,[1] the son of Robert Slade, who had made a fortune at Doctors' Commons, and himself a notable collector of glass, engravings, books and fine bindings, many of whose treasures are now in the British Museum, bequeathed the sum of £45,000 for the purpose of founding three professorships to be termed the Slade Professorships of Fine Arts, one each at Oxford, Cambridge, and University College, and six scholarships at the last named.[2] The chairs at Oxford and Cambridge were established in the following year. University College, largely guided by Edwin Field,[3] took a wider view of the opportunity afforded by the bequest and its plans took longer to mature, but in 1871 the Council could announce that there had been transferred to them in stock not only £10,000 for scholarships and £7,000 for the endowment of a professorship, but also £5,000 towards the erection of suitable buildings for the Schools of Fine Art.[4] To the munificence of Felix Slade were added gifts from Samuel Sharpe and J. P. Heywood. What was to be the first section of the North Wing was built,[5] and the new department was opened in October, 1871.

In founding a school for professional artists rather than a mere chair the college made a notable advance upon what was done elsewhere, and was rewarded by the grant of further substantial contributions from Slade's executors.[6] Its action in the sphere of the fine arts is comparable with the work which it was doing in the field of experimental science. In both departments it showed that it recognised that a university is a place, not for the passive reception of information, but for active investigation and that there is no real

[1] *The Slade MDCCCXCIII–MDCCCCVII*, 1907, 3–4.

[2] *Ann. Rept.*, 1869, 13–4.

[3] *Ibid.*, 1872, 11; *cf. Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson.* Edited by Thomas Sadler, 3 v., 1869, iii, 178.

[4] *University College, London. The Slade Trusts. Copies of Legal Documents* [n.d.].

[5] *Ann. Rept.*, 1870, 14, 1871, 17–9; *Notes*, 70.

[6] *Ibid.*, 1872, 16.

distinction between teacher and taught; and the substitution of the study of the living model for drawing from the antique, to which it was the custom in British schools to devote entire years,[1] is the counterpart to the encouragement of experimental methods in chemistry, physics, and physiology, and to the creation of an engineering laboratory.

The first professor of Fine Art was E. J. Poynter.[2] His election was important because of his knowledge of the practice of the French schools, and to him must be accorded the credit of laying down the principles of free admission to every artist, to whatever mode of thought and treatment he might incline, and of the use of the living model as the basis of study.[3] The school grew rapidly under his direction, the number of students reaching 220 by 1875, when the Council was constrained to restrict admissions.[4] But its work became incomparably more important after the appointment of Alphonse Legros[5] in 1876, and the heyday of its reputation belongs to the 'eighties and 'nineties.

v. Medicine

The Faculty of Medicine shared with that of Science the distinction conferred by the achievements of the departments of chemistry and physiology. In the more strictly professional studies the period of the 'sixties and 'seventies is that of the mature years of the group of young men appointed during the late 'forties and early 'fifties. W. B. Carpenter went in 1859, Parkes in 1860, Walshe and Garrod in 1862, but Erichsen and Viner Ellis stayed until 1877, Jenner until 1879, and Wharton Jones until 1881. The reputation of the school revived and the number of its students recovered. But there was not much room for new talent upon the professorial staff, and there was only one notable new departure, when, in 1869, the college established a chair of Hygiene and Public

[1] *Ann. Rept.*, 1872, 16.

[2] *D.N.B.*, 1912–1921.

[3] *Cf. University College, London. Slade Schools of Fine Art. Circular for Assistance and Advice.* [n.d.]; *University College, London. Programme of Study in the Slade Schools of Art, 15 June*, 1871; E. J. Poynter: *Ten Lectures on Art*, 1879, Lect. III.

[4] *Ann. Rept.*, 1875, 19–20.

[5] *D.N.B., 2nd Suppl.*

Health. Among the distinguished recruits to professorial rank must be reckoned one who was the contemporary of those who had already enjoyed that position for many years, John Marshall, and four who belonged to a younger generation, J. Russell Reynolds, Henry Thompson, Wilson Fox, and Sidney Ringer.

John Marshall,[1] who played so large a part in the history of the medical faculty in the 'sixties and 'seventies, had, after acting as demonstrator of anatomy, been appointed to the hospital at the same time as Erichsen, and was of the same age; but his promotion was as slow as Erichsen's was rapid, and he waited eighteen years before he obtained a chair, following Erichsen in 1866 as professor of Surgery when the latter, in succession to Quain, became Holme Professor of Clinical Surgery. A former student of the college, the son of a solicitor at Ely, he began in medical practice in London and owed his appointment at college to the influence of Sharpey.[2] "He had many outlooks on life," wrote Sir Rickman Godlee; "primarily he was an anatomist with a special leaning towards artistic anatomy, then a physiologist and, as it were, secondarily a surgeon. In the field of surgery his work was more sound than brilliant and his reputation is rather that of a scientific man with good business capacity than a distinguished surgeon."[3] As a man of business he was in great demand and the services which he did to his profession are innumerable. His association with art was close. He was lecturer on Art Anatomy at the Government Schools of Art at Marlborough House and South Kensington, and professor of Anatomy at the Royal Academy. He was intimate with Ford Madox Brown, to whom he sat for the jester in his 'Chaucer,' and through him became the physician and friend of D. G. Rossetti.[4]

J. R. Reynolds,[5] who became Holme Professor of Clinical Medicine in 1862 and five years later succeeded Sir

[1] *D.N.B.*; *Bulletin*, v, 1927–8, 121. [2] *Lancet*, 1891, i, 118 a.

[3] R. J. Godlee: Surgery [Typescript in the college library], f. 11.

[4] *Præraphaelite Diaries and Letters*. Edited by M. W. Rossetti, 1900, 107; F. M. Hueffer: *Ford Madox Brown. A Record of his Life and Work*, 1896, 71; W. M. Rossetti: *Dante Gabriel Rossetti. His Family Letters*, 2 v., 1895, i, 221.

[5] *D.N.B.*; *Bulletin*, v, 1927–8, 122.

William Jenner as professor of the Principles and Practice of Medicine, was also a former student of the college, where he had had a brilliant career. He was born in 1828, the son of a distinguished nonconformist divine and the grandson of a Physician in Ordinary to George III. On leaving college he settled down in private practice in Leeds, but returned to London in 1852 at the suggestion of Marshall Hall, whose house he took and to whose position as the leading neurologist he speedily succeeded. His reputation was made by his writings and confirmed by his book on *Epilepsy, its Symptoms and Relations to other Convulsive Diseases*, published in 1861. After holding hospital appointments elsewhere, he became assistant physician to University College Hospital in 1859, and full physician in 1862. Under his editorship there appeared in 1866 the first of five volumes of *A System of Medicine*, which was the first of many such works and which did for medicine what had been done for surgery by Holmes. As a lecturer he was noted for his love of precision, order, and classification, his reluctance to make general statements, his dry humour, and the ease of his delivery which concealed the care of his preparation.[1] Familiar with French and German, as well as being a good classical scholar, he was also an amateur of no mean proficiency in music and painting. "His old students to this day," recalled the *Lancet* in 1896, "speak of their attendance at Reynolds' morning lectures in medicine not merely as a part of their routine medical education to which they were forced to submit, but rather as an interlude in that education from which they reaped not only substantial assistance in their comprehension of medicine, but absolute intellectual pleasure and wider views of life."[2]

His life was full of work, and he was only sixty-eight when he died. He holds a secure place in the history of medicine in the nineteenth century.

"His early writings," recorded the *Lancet*, "were far in advance of any previous attempts to systematise the symptoms arising from nervous

[1] *Lancet*, 1896, i, 1583 a; *British Medical Journal*, 1896, i, 1423 a.

[2] *Lancet*, 1896, i, 1583 a.

lesions. He appeared at a transition period, when order was just discernible forming itself out of chaos, and he was largely responsible for that order. Five or six years before the path of microscopical investigation had been made plain by Lockhart Clarke, Reynolds was working at the clinical aspects of diseases of the nervous system and perfecting the knowledge and proving the surmises of Marshall Hall. Later a flood of light was to be thrown on these subjects by the philosophical lore, the research, and the teachings of Hughlings Jackson, Bastian, Ferrier, Gowers, and Buzzard; but during the interval the torch was held aloft by Reynolds. He laboured at his subject, he interested as well as instructed others, he made things plain so that his successors could start with ease where he left off, and he rescued the manifestations of hysteria and epileptoid conditions from the curious uncanny kind of mystery in which they were shrouded and showed them to the whole profession as simple results of cause and effect. These are great accomplishments, and Reynolds, denuded of official and Court dignity, of his prestige as a writer, his reputation as a lecturer, and his claims upon the public as a general physician, would still remain secure of his fame as a pioneer in the science of medicine."[1]

A lifelong friend of Reynolds was Sir Henry Thompson,[2] who was in active work at the hospital from 1853 to 1875, becoming professor of Clinical Surgery in 1866. Born in 1820, he was in years the contemporary of Parkes and Erichsen, but he did not come to the university until he was twenty-eight, and belongs as a student to the younger generation. His professional reputation was won almost entirely as an urinary surgeon, and even his hospital practice was confined almost exclusively to his speciality. His private practice, it has been said, was the largest ever enjoyed by a surgeon in London engaged in the speciality which he followed, and he numbered among his patients Leopold I and Napoleon III. But he was a man of great versatility, and besides winning eminence and great success as a surgeon and becoming recognised as an authority upon diet, he made his contribution to social reform by the large part he took in the introduction of the practice of cremation, and was the author of some rather jejune novels, and the painter of pictures which were hung at Burlington House and the Salon. Whether it were foreign travel, the

[1] *Lancet*, 1896, i, 1584 b.

[2] *D.N.B., 2nd Suppl.*

collection of Chinese and Japanese porcelain, the growing of tomatoes, the conduct of a private observatory, or the riding of a tricycle, it was done with the same energy, thoroughness, and capability, and he made himself famous as a host by the care with which he assorted his guests, the wide range of his interests, and the skill with which he made up the bill of fare. "You must know," he once said, "if there is one other thing I am besides a painter, it is a cook."[1] One of his novels, which he also illustrated, contains a self-portrait.[2] He died in his eighty-fourth year in 1904.

Wilson Fox,[3] born at Wellington in 1831, of a famous West of England Quaker family, had likewise been a student of the college. Completing his education at Edinburgh, Paris, Vienna, and Berlin, he was, after a brief experience of private practice, appointed assistant-physician to the hospital and professor of Pathological Anatomy in succession to Jenner in April, 1862, becoming Holme Professor of Clinical Medicine in 1867, when he was succeeded in the chair of Pathological Anatomy by H. C. Bastian.[4] As a pathologist he was notable for his work upon tuberculosis, but the publication of the researches of Koch necessitated the revision of some of his conclusions, and the great mass of materials which he had collected remained unpublished at his death. It was as a clinical teacher that he was most vividly remembered, and as a clinical physician he was extremely successful and for many years enjoyed a very large consulting practice.

"When I look back, through the mist, to 1872–3," wrote Sir William Osler, "and try to recall specific days and hours, there are few which will return with greater distinctness than those in which I see Wilson Fox standing at the head of a bed at University College Hospital, unravelling for the class the complicated symptoms of some chest case. He had a refinement and charm of manner particularly attractive. Something of the gentle spirit of the great Friend, whose name he bore, and into whose Society he was born, pervaded his nature, and there was

[1] *University College Gazette*, ii, 1898–1901, 203 b.

[2] Pen Oliver [Sir Henry Thompson]: "*All But.*" *A Chronicle of Laxenford Life*, 1886, 309.

[3] *Notes*, 135–7, 161.

[4] *The Times*, 19 Nov., 1915, 11 b, 25 Oct., 1928, 21 d.

a kindness in his manner which won the hearts alike of student and patient." [1]

The youngest of the group was Sidney Ringer.[2] Appointed professor of Materia Medica and Therapeutics in 1862, he became Assistant-Physician to the hospital in 1863, full Physician in 1866, professor of the Principles and Practice of Medicine in 1878, and Holme Professor of Clinical Medicine in 1887. Like Marshall, Reynolds, Thompson, and Fox, he also was a former student of the college, and he was profoundly influenced by the teaching of Jenner and of Parkes.[3] As professor of Materia Medica his bent was towards pharmacology rather than towards descriptive and historical materia medica, and although a great clinical teacher and in enjoyment of a large practice, his keenest interest was reserved for the physiological laboratory, to which he devoted every moment which could be spared from the execution of his professional and his professorial duties.[4]

" Ringer was a very remarkable man," writes Sir John Rose Bradford, " in that he was trained primarily as a clinician, and he excelled as one, and, although he received no very special laboratory training, nevertheless in middle life embarked on a series of researches on fundamental physiological and pharmacological questions that were carried out with meticulous scientific precision and led to results of the first importance. His work on the influence of minute quantities of inorganic salts on the beat of the heart, and on vital processes generally, was, in the true sense of the word, fundamental, and it may even be stated that he was so far in advance of his time as in some measure to have anticipated the now well-known doctrine of ions. The methods devised by him are in daily use in all physiological laboratories, and have been of the greatest value in numerous researches. His pharmacological work was also of considerable value, and he can be regarded as one of the earliest, and certainly as one of the most accurate and truly scientific investigators in the field of pharmacology in this country." [5]

[1] H. Cushing: *The Life of Sir William Osler*, 2 v., Oxford, 1925, i, 100 n. 1.

[2] *D.N.B.*, *2nd Suppl.*

[3] *British Medical Journal*, 1910, ii, 1384 b. [4] *Ibid.*, 1384–5.

[5] Sir John Rose Bradford: Medical School [Typescript in the college library], f. 13; *cf.* H. B. S.: *The late Dr. Sidney Ringer* in *University College Hospital Magazine*, i, 1910–1, 85–8; J. Rose Bradford: *Sidney Ringer*, *ibid.*, x, 1925, 105–7.

During the session 1868–9 the Council established a chair of Hygiene and Public Health, a subject hitherto treated in the college as a part of Medical Jurisprudence.[1] The first professor was W. H. Corfield.[2] He held the chair until 1903. The immediate importance of the foundation was the recognition which it accorded to the subject.[3]

vi. Other Activities

It remains to notice two or three minor developments which took place during this period.

In 1860, with a view to provide more completely for the instruction of candidates for the Civil Service of India, a professorship of Bengali and of Hindu Law was established,[4] and in 1865, with the same purpose, the chair of Telugu was revived.[5] In 1872 the professorship of Chinese, in abeyance virtually since the death of Kidd in 1843, was restored by the appointment of H. F. Holt.[6] The establishment of a chair of Páli in 1873 was dictated by more strictly academic interests.[7]

From 1866 to 1874 a regular series of evening classes was held, which replaced in some measure the schoolmasters' classes of an earlier period. A beginning had been made in 1860 with a course on Zoology by Grant and one on Animal Physiology by Marshall.[8] In 1866 seventeen general classes were started, including as well as ordinary academic subjects, writing, book-keeping, and elocution, and run partly by the professors and partly by persons specially appointed.[9] The number of students continued to rise until 1869–70, when it reached 120. Then there was a decline. In 1874, when the number had fallen to 55, the Council decided to discontinue the experiment.[10]

[1] *Ann. Rept.*, 1869, 11. [2] *D.N.B.*, *2nd Suppl.*

[3] *Cf.* R. Quain: *Observations on Medical Education. Being the Introductory Lecture in the Faculty of Medicine of University College, London, for the Session* 1864–5, *with additions*, 1865, 26–9. [4] *Ann. Rept.*, 1861, 11.

[5] *Ibid.*, 1866, 10. [6] *Ibid.*, 1873, 14. [7] *Ibid.*, 1874, 14.

[8] *Ibid.*, 1861, 11. [9] *Ibid.*, 1867, 12; *cf.* 1865, 4, 1866, 12.

[10] *Ibid.*, 1875, 11; *cf.* 1866–74 *passim*; *University College, London. Reports of the Committees on Evening Classes, and on Assistants to Professors. Presented to the Council, July 6th*, 1872.

To these evening classes were added between 1867 and 1871 general public lectures on Tuesday evenings.[1] Among the lecturers, besides the professors, were Goldwin Smith, Thorold Rogers, Huxley, Poynter, and Ruskin, who delivered in 1869 the first part of what was afterwards published under the title of *The Queen of the Air*.[2] In 1879, through the mediation of Huxley, John Fiske delivered a course of six public lectures on *America's Place in History*. The Civil War had stirred the college to set a prize essay *Atheniensium veterum et Americorum qui hodie sunt, pariter omnia in republica libere et populariter gerentium, ingenium et mores inter se comparantur*.[3] Seventeen years later this tremor of excitement had quite died away. It was doubtful whether an audience of fifty people could be collected. But the forebodings were happily disappointed. The room was packed. Fiske sent jubilant reports to his wife. After the last lecture, he wrote:

"They fairly *howled* applause. Gentlemen stood up on the benches and waved their hats; ladies stood up on the benches and fluttered their handkerchiefs; and they kept it up until I had to make a pretty little speech. Then they clamoured again, and one old white-haired man made a speech of thanks; and then another gentleman got up and seconded the other with another pretty little speech, winding up by proposing three cheers for me; and they gave three rousing cheers, so that I had to bow and smile and thank 'em once more."[4]

vii. Finance: Buildings

The renewed activity which accompanied the development of experimental science, and which found expression in the Faculty of Arts in the prosperity of the department of English and the foundation of a school of Fine Art, made itself manifest in an improvement of the financial position of the college and in the resumption of building operations.

In 1864 the Council reported that for the period 1853 to 1862 the average receipts had been adequate to the ordinary expenditure and the inroads upon capital had been due to extraordinary expenses in completing the existing buildings

[1] *Ann. Rept.*, 1868, 12–3. [2] *Ibid.*, 1869–71, *passim*. [3] *Ibid.*, 1864, 6.
[4] J. Fiske: *American Political Ideas*, Boston & N.Y., 1915, xv–xxii.

and making other important additions, and in 1856 and 1857, the receipts had been more than sufficient to cover the expenses, both ordinary and extraordinary.[1] Yet the accounts throughout the early 'sixties continued to show an adverse balance.[2] In 1865 the average annual deficit for the previous thirteen years had exceeded £500. In the decade between 1863 and 1873 there was a great change. During that period the number of students rose from 387 to 911, and that of pupils in the school from 386 to 680, the college share of fees from £2,278 to £7,859, and the payments to teachers from £8,625 to £17,574.[3] In 1876 the Council agreed to pay to clinical teachers two-thirds of the fees received from students for clinical instruction, the whole of which had previously been devoted to the support of the hospital.[4]

Upon the principle of help to those who help themselves the college at the same time received some valuable benefactions. In 1859 it inherited a legacy from Baron de Goldsmid.[5] In 1863 £3,000 was presented by a firm of Parsee merchants in testimony of their appreciation of the tolerant spirit which had opened to their countrymen a college education without interference with their religious creed.[6] The Slade bequest came in 1868.[7] In 1871 Sir Francis Goldsmid granted what was at first a temporary endowment of the chair of Applied Mathematics and Mechanics.[8] In 1873 came the Jodrell gift for the endowment of the chair of Physiology.[9] Two years later the college received by bequest from James Yates a reversionary interest in monies for the endowment of the chair of Geology and Mineralogy and for the establishment of a chair of Archæology.[10] In 1876 it inherited a sum for the endowment of the chairs of German and French from Samuel Fielden, the Barlow[11] bequest for an annual course of public lectures on the *Divina Commedia*,

[1] *Ann. Rept.*, 1863, 16.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1863, 16, 1864, 12, 1865, 13, 1866, 13; *Report of the Finance Committee to the Council of University College, London, 8 June*, 1865.

[3] *Ann. Rept.*, 1875, 8. [4] *Ibid.*, 1877, 14. [5] *Ibid.*, 1860, 12–4.

[6] *Ibid.*, 1864, 10–1. [7] *Ibid.*, 1869, 13–4.

[8] *Ibid.*, 1872, 14. [9] *Ibid.*, 1873, 15–6.

[10] *Ibid.*, 1875, 21; *cf.* 1872, 17, 1873, 19, 1874, 18, 1876, 20. [11] *D.N.B.*

and the endowment under Grote's will of the chair of Mental Philosophy,[1] and in 1879 came an endowment of the chair of Zoology and Comparative Anatomy from Jodrell.[2] To these must be added several other gifts and the endowment of a number of prizes and scholarships, while in 1875 the college received its first assistance from the City Companies,[3] and in pursuance of the Report of the Royal Commission on Scientific Instruction made its first application for aid to the Government.[4]

That some improvement in the position of professors was very necessary was abundantly clear. Jevons reckoned that his chair was worth about £70 a year.[5] The college had frequently to bewail the fact that it could not afford to retain the services of distinguished men who were offered higher salaries elsewhere,[6] and of those who remained some were notoriously incompetent. "Several of the Professors," reported the Finance Committee in 1865, "have expressed their opinion that the reputation and welfare of the whole institution are suffering by reason of the practical inefficiency of some of the classes."[7] But the allowance made to Potter, who resigned in 1865, had to be borne by the current account when the receipts were barely sufficient to meet the expenses,[8] and only in 1868, through the munificence of Samuel Sharpe, were the first steps taken to establish a Retired Professors' Fund.[9] At the same time it is to be borne in mind that, save for the professor of Practical Physiology, who had the benefit of the services of the Sharpey Scholar, the professors had to provide their own assistants. In 1872 there were six of these only, two employed by the professor of Fine Arts, two by the pro-

[1] *Ann. Rept.*, 1877, 12–3. [2] *Ibid.*, 1880, 13. [3] *Ibid.*, 1875, 12–3.

[4] *Ibid.*, 1875, 13–4, 1876, 4, 16; *The Times*, 11 March, 1875, 6 f.

[5] *Letters and Journal of W. Stanley Jevons.* Edited by his Wife, 1886, 420.

[6] *Cf. Ann. Rept.*, 1869, 11, 1871, 16, 1872, 14, 1874, 14, 1875, 19; *University College, London. Reports of the Committees on Evening Classes, and on Assistants to Professors. Presented to the Council, July 6th*, 1872, 6; *supra*, pp. 253, 262, 267, 286, 309, 322–3, 331; *Fifth Report of the Royal Commission on Scientific Instruction and the Advancement of Science*, [C. 1087], 4–7. H. of C., 1874, XXII, 51.

[7] *Report of the Finance Committee to the Council of University College, London*, 8 *June*, 1865, 5.

[8] *Ann. Rept.*, 1868, 21. [9] *Ibid.*, 1869, 12–3.

fessor of Chemistry, and one each by the professors of Latin and Mathematics.[1]

As the growth of the Medical School had led to rearrangements in the allocation of the lecture-rooms during the early years in the history of the college, so changes were produced in the 'sixties and 'seventies by the growth of experimental science, and the beginnings of the revival in the Faculty of Arts. In 1859 the room north of the dome, intended for a Museum of Natural History but still unfinished, was fitted up as a Museum of Anatomy and Pathology, setting free the smaller room to the north of it for the professor of Comparative Anatomy and Zoology, who in his turn vacated what we now call the South Classroom to the Museum of Geology.[2] At the same time, the northernmost of the two rooms behind the Anatomy Theatre was allotted to the class of Practical Physiology.[3] By 1870 this class had so far expanded as to require the better accommodation afforded by what is now the Professors' Smoking Room, and during the session 1872–3 its old quarters were given to the Sharpey Library.[4] In 1872 a new physiological laboratory was erected in the North Cloister,[5] and in 1874 the old Museum of Materia Medica, occupying what was originally the Professors' Common Room, gave place to the new Jodrell Physiological Laboratory,[6] new accommodation being found for Materia Medica in the basement.[7]

More conspicuous, but not more significant, was the building of the north and south wings. The school had outgrown its quarters, and the college, far from being able to give it more room, was anxious to retrench even those encroachments which it had previously allowed. In particular the room behind the upper south theatre, originally allotted to Natural Philosophy, but since occupied by the school, was required for the new physical laboratory.[8] In 1866 a building fund was

[1] *University College, London. Reports of the Committees on Evening Classes, and on Assistants to Professors. Presented to the Council, July 6th*, 1872, 6.

[2] *Ann. Rept.*, 1860, 16–7. [3] *Ibid.*, 17.

[4] *Ibid.*, 1870, 15, 1871, 17; *cf.* 1888, 15, *Cal.*, 1873, 175, 1895, plan.

[5] *Ann. Rept.*, 1873, 18–9. [6] *Ibid.*, 1875, 12.

[7] *Ibid.*; *Notes*, 19, 182. [8] *Ann. Rept.*, 1867, 13.

started by a gift from Samuel Sharpe, who subsequently added to it, and in three stages the south wing was built for the accommodation of the school, the several sections being opened in 1869, 1873, and 1876.[1] At the same time the Slade bequest made possible the erection of the first section of the North wing, begun in 1870 and opened in the following year.[2] The foundations of a second instalment were laid in 1878.[3] The new buildings were designed by Hayter Lewis, who succeeded Donaldson as professor of Architecture in 1865.

The area vacated by the school was occupied, with the exception of the room restored to Physics, by the Library and by the Faculty of Arts. The room on the first floor at the southernmost end of the main block was used to house the Morris and Graves libraries and was known as the South Library until 1907, when it became the Mocatta Library.[4] In 1874 it was arranged as a reading-room for the professors.[5]

The additional accommodation provided for Arts on the first floor enabled space on the ground floor to be allotted to other purposes. Following the foundation of a chair of Hygiene and Public Health in 1869, the Geological Museum was moved across the entrance passage to what is now the Office, and a Hygiene Laboratory was placed in the northern half of the room which it vacated.[6]

In 1865 the Marmor Homericum, executed by the Baron Triqueti and presented to the college by Grote, was set up in the south cloister,[7] and the cloister was glazed. A storey was added to the hospital in 1868,[8] and further alterations were made a decade later.[9]

[1] *Ann. Rept.*, 1867, 13–4, 1868, 13, 1869, 6, 13, 18–9, 1870, 6, 13, 1873, 7–8, 1876, 11–2.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1871, 18, 1872, 16.

[3] *Ibid.*, 1879, 14–5.

[4] *Ibid.*, 1870, 16, 1871, 19–20.

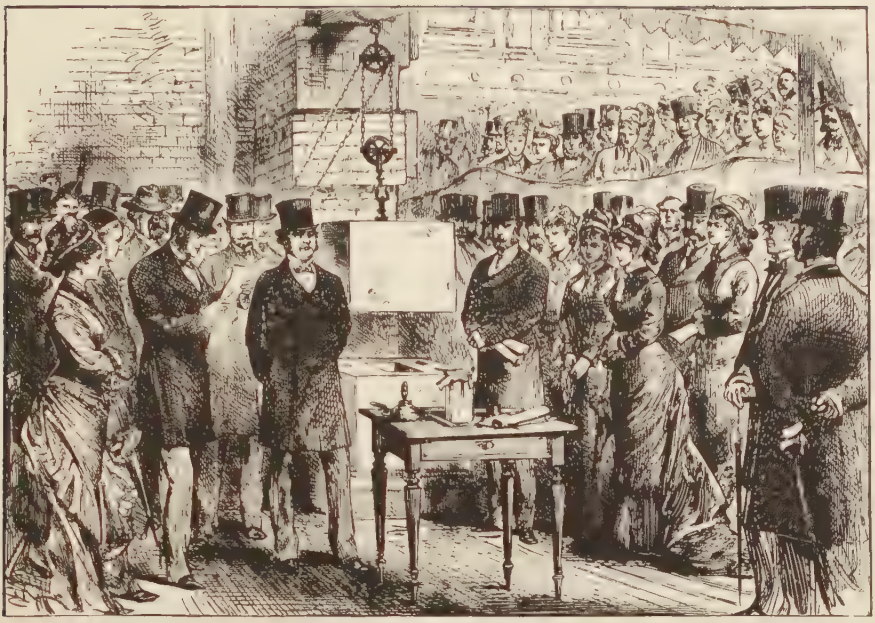
[5] *Ibid.*, 1875, 12.

[6] *Cf. Cal.*, 1877, plan.

[7] *Ann. Rept.*, 1864, 11, 1866, 12–3, 16; *Marmor Homericum . . . Photographed by Mr. S. Thompson. With text . . . by P. S. Worsley, M.A.* [n.d.]; Mrs. Grote: *The Personal Life of George Grote*, 1873, 273, 274; J. Ross: *Three Generations of Englishwomen*, 2 v., 1888, ii, 154–5; *Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson.* Edited by Thomas Sadler, 3 v., 1869, iii, 504, 505; F. T. Palgrave: *Essays on Art*, 1866, 273–9.

[8] *Ann. Rept.*, 1868, 16.

[9] *The Times*, 22 Sept., 1879, 7 a.



EARL GRANVILLE LAYING THE FOUNDATION-STONE OF THE NEW WING, UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, GOWER STREET.

From *The Illustrated London News*, 20 July, 1878.

viii. Student Life

In student life, as in other departments, the 'sixties and 'seventies were a time of new beginnings.

Some of the old student societies continued to flourish. The Debating Society was the most important of the rallying points for social intercourse.

"The ordinary meetings," recalled Mr. Neuman, "were held in the reading-room, a subterranean apartment under the mathematical class-room, capable of accommodating some forty or fifty members. At a corner of what is now Gower Place, not much more than a good stone's-throw from the college, stood 'The University Bun House,' a baker's shop, with tea and dining rooms behind it. Thither we used to adjourn on debate nights, for refreshment and conversation till the hour for the meeting arrived. At these meetings the chief men of light and leading were past officers of the society, and former students of the college who had come down from Oxford or Cambridge and were now preparing for professional life. A great favourite—except, perhaps, with some of his victims—was Dr. Blake Odgers, already an admirable speaker, and a very adroit and humorous debater. But on the whole, I think, the characteristic feature of the speaking must have been a respectable average rather than individual brilliance . . .

The climax of the debating season was the public debate, which took place towards the end of the summer term, in the Botanical Theatre. The big, ugly room must have held seven or eight hundred visitors at least, and on these occasions it was generally crowded to the doors. All I can remember of the first of these functions at which I was present is, that among the speakers was Numa Hartog, who, a short time before, had been Senior Wrangler, the first of his race to achieve that high distinction. His brilliant promise ended, soon afterwards, in what seemed a sadly premature death. The next year, I think it must have been, Lord Coleridge was in the chair, and the speech of the evening was made by a visitor, a Mr. Darling, better known to-day, unless I am very much mistaken, as Mr. Justice Darling. Other chairmen whom I can recall were Lord Kimberley, bland and patronising; John Bright, brusque and leonine; Leslie Stephen, Lord Herschell, and Sir Charles Tupper, the Canadian statesman. . . ."[1]

[1] B. P. Neuman: *Gower Street in the 'Seventies* in *The Nineteenth Century and After*, lxxxvii, 1920, 299–301; *cf. London Students' Gazette*, 1872, 32, 45–8; *The Times*, 10 May, 1877, 7 e.

In the later 'seventies the Society began to print reports of its proceedings and lists of its members.

The Medical Society was active, and many pages of its minutes are in Lister's handwriting.[1] It obtained a larger room in 1871.[2]

The Reading-Room Society maintained its existence. A Students Christian Association was founded in 1861.[3] A new Literary and Philosophical Society was started in 1862, of which Jevons was the first president. It published a volume of papers in 1865, and survived until 1873.[4] To these were added a Musical Society in 1871, which lasted until 1876,[5] and, in the latter year, the Chemical and Physical Society, with Oliver J., now Sir Oliver, Lodge for its first president.[6] From 1873 to 1876 there was also a Reading and Dramatic Society,[7] and in 1878 a small group, of which Victor Horsley was one, formed what they called the University College Philomathic Society.[8] The Mathematical Society, founded in 1864, became in time the London Mathematical Society, and ceased in 1867 to rank among student clubs.[9] A Women's Debating Society appeared in 1879.[10]

Yet in spite of this multiplicity of organisations there was a general agreement that there was far less social intercourse among students than was to be desired. The more flourishing clubs fell largely into the hands of older men, many of whom

[1] R. J. Godlee: *The Foundation Oration on Lister and his Work*, 1913, 5.

[2] *Ann. Rept.*, 1872, 9.

[3] The Christian Union [MS. in the college library], ff. 2–3; *Notes*, 23.

[4] *Letters and Journal of W. Stanley Jevons*. Edited by his Wife, 1886, 175, 184; *Cal.*, 1863, 312; *Essays read before the Literary and Philosophical Society of University College, London, Session* 1863–4, 1865; *Cal.*, 1872, 187; *cf.* 1873, *ibid.*

[5] *Cal.*, 1871, 184, 1875, 200; *cf.* 1876, 195.

[6] *Ibid.*, 1877, 225; O. L. Brady: A Short History of the Chemical and Physical Society [MS. in the college library], ff. 2–3; *Notes*, 39–40.

[7] *Cal.*, 1873, 187, 1875, 200; *cf.* 1876, 195.

[8] S. Paget: *Sir Victor Horsley*, 1919, 30.

[9] *Cal.*, 1865, 153; S. E. De Morgan: *Memoir of Augustus De Morgan*, 1882, 281–6; *Cal.*, 1866, 177; *cf.* 1867, 157; *Notes*, 90.

[10] *Abstracts*, ii, 1878–9, no. 23; *Cal.*, 1880, 269; Women's Union Debating Society [MS. in the college library], ff. 4–6; *The Times*, 13 May, 1880, 11 b; *Notes*, 197.

had already graduated, and they tended to become rather close bodies.[1] The Reading-Room Society did not supply a common-room open to all, but was a select club admitting its members by election.[2] It was hardly an exaggeration to say, wrote a contemporary, that the students met one another in the lecture-rooms and libraries, and that there their acquaintance generally ended.[3] There was little contact between the medical and the arts students, and the latter were, of the two, the greater recluses. The arts student, it was said, was rarely on familiar terms even with the men of his own college; to become acquainted with members of another college was a thing almost unheard of.[4]

"It is the largeness and variety of intercourse, the abundance of congenial society," wrote Seeley in 1868, "which makes the special charm and exhilaration of university life. In London this charm as yet is almost totally wanting. If the teaching class [in the several colleges] are too little united, the students are united still less. To be a London student, has not hitherto meant to be a member of a vast student world. Membership at one London college has not been a passport to the society of the other colleges. The London students never assemble except for examination. They have not the habit of co-operating for any purposes of society or recreation. The consequence of this is not only the want of the distinguishing charm of student-life, but also a great want of sociability—so far at least as I am able to judge—within the colleges themselves. The colleges separately are too small to form the basis of prosperous common undertakings. Debating societies, literary societies, magazines, boat clubs, are only kept alive by constant effort, and have to be galvanized anew every October. Social life within the colleges will never, I believe, be created but by union among the colleges."[5]

In the campaign to remedy these defects the leaders were Seeley himself and Henry Morley. Each founded a magazine

[1] *The London Student*, i, 146–7 (June, 1868).

[2] R. J. Godlee: University College, London, 1866–1872 and later [MS. in the college library], f. 7; H. S. Solly: *The Life of Henry Morley*, 1898, 318.

[3] *The London Student*, i, 142–3 (June, 1868).

[4] R. J. Godlee: University College, London, 1866–1872 and later [MS. in the college library], f. 6; *The London Student*, i, 147 (June, 1868); *cf. Ann. Rept.*, 1871, 6–7.

[5] *The London Student*, i, 15–6 (April, 1868).

which should be the organ of the movement; Seeley, *The London Student*,[1] Morley, *The University College London Gazette*.[2] Seeley sought chiefly to stimulate the corporate life of the university, and in his journal is to be found one of the earliest pleas for the revival of a university Union.[3] Morley limited his efforts more strictly to the promotion of the social life of the college.

"We have new possibilities that arise out of the dismissal of K.," he wrote in 1879, referring to the refectory. "He is to be replaced at the beginning of next session by the proprietor of the Holborn and Crosby Hall restaurants, two of the best known and best managed in London. He will put enterprise into the work, and make the students' refreshment-room a pleasant place. Professors, as well as students, will frequent it. We shall have also a way open to little inexpensive gatherings, without the fear that has deterred us hitherto of their being cheap and nasty. Now that I have dropped the country courses, I shall revive my students' evenings at home, and I am not at all sure that I shall not propose the setting up of something of the nature of a students' committee empowered to send facts and suggestions to the Senate. The cloisters now enclosed can be made into a pleasant place for students to sit and talk together, and the square behind—that is Hayter Lewis's idea—with a little ivy to cover the brick walls, and some trees planted, can be made into a garden. Everybody seems ready to support active movements in this direction, and there is no reason why, as to its inner life, University College should not in the course of five or ten years become thoroughly humanized, and at all points humanizing to the student." "I have just set two new ideas going in the college," he added in a letter in October. "One is to solve the difficulty of the students' common room. What I propose is to pay out any vested interest of the Reading-Room Society in their exclusive use of a room, give notice that the college will resume the room next session, keep up the supply of papers, etc., and provide for all the students the same comfort that a few are now providing for themselves."[4]

At the same time a beginning was made with the organisation of athletics. After prolonged negotiations, which started in 1860, racquets and fives courts were built in 1864 with the

[1] I, i–v, April–Oct., 1868. [2] I, i–xii, Oct., 1886–Nov., 1887.
[3] *The London Student*, i, 148 (June, 1868).
[4] H. S. Solly: *The Life of Henry Morley*, 1898, 316–7, 318.

help of E. W. Field and Crabb Robinson,[1] and college and hospital sports were held in 1869.[2] But the drilling and skirmishing exercises of the volunteers, stimulated by the scare of 1860, still remained the most popular form of outdoor occupation.[3]

During these years the college was the nursery of many who afterwards won distinction, but it must be remembered that students still often entered for a few courses only, or even for one alone, and it is to be observed that any selection from their number at so short a distance of time cannot but be in a large measure haphazard.

The session 1860–1 brought J. Estlin Carpenter, unitarian divine and ultimately principal of Manchester College. In 1861–2 there came J., later Sir John, Williams, obstetrician, J. W. Legg, physician and liturgiologist, R., later Sir Robert, Hunter, who became solicitor to the General Post Office, and was famous for his work for the Commons Preservation Society and as one of the founders of the National Trust, A. S. Wilkins, who became professor of Latin at Owens College, P. H. Wicksteed, unitarian divine, economist, and Dante scholar, G. C. Robertson, shortly to become professor of Philosophy, and G. V. Poore, later professor of Medicine. The session 1862–3 brought Numa E. Hartog, a man whose brilliant career was cut short by early death. There entered in 1863–4, W. R., later Sir William, Gowers, professor of Clinical Medicine, and U. J. Kay-Shuttleworth, 1st Baron Shuttleworth. In 1864–5 came W. H., later Sir William, Allchin, physician, H. Newell Martin, physiologist, and W. E. Ayrton, electrical engineer. 1865–6 brought W. H. Corfield, who became first professor of Hygiene and Public Health. 1866–7 produced four professors of the college, J., later Sir John, Tweedy, J. A. Fleming, R. J., later Sir Rickman, Godlee, and Marcus Beck, who succeeded respectively to the chairs of Ophthalmology, Electrical Engineering, and Surgery, while

[1] Racquets and Fives Club [MS. in the college library]; *Notes*, 21–2; *Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson*. Edited by Thomas Sadler, 3 v., 1869, iii, 495; *Ann. Rept.*, 1865, 11–2.

[2] University College and Hospital Athletic Club [MS. in the college library], f. 1.

[3] *Cf. Ann. Rept.*, 1860, 18–9; *Letters and Journal of W. Stanley Jevons*. Edited by his Wife, 1886, 150, 152; S. Paget: *Sir Victor Horsley*, 1919, 22–3.

in the same session there came E. A. Sonnenschein, afterwards professor of Latin and Greek in the University of Birmingham, and there attended John Morris's lectures on Geology H. H., afterwards Earl, Kitchener, then preparing for Woolwich. In 1867–8 there entered G. D., now Sir George, Thane, who became professor of Anatomy, R. D. Roberts, educationist, W. W. Rouse Ball, mathematician, W. H., later Sir Hamo, Thornycroft, sculptor, T., now Sir Thomas, Barlow, physician, and S., later Sir Surendranath, Banerjea, educationist and politician. 1868–9 brought A. G. Bell, the inventor of the telephone, A. P., later Sir Alfred, Gould, surgeon, E. A. Schäfer, physiologist, who is now Sir E. A. Sharpey-Schafer and professor of Physiology in the University of Edinburgh, and H., afterwards Sir Henry, Morris, surgeon. In the session 1869–70 there came R. F., now Sir Robert, Scott, Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, Hugh Williams, ecclesiastical historian, K. G., later Sir Krishna, Gupta, one of the first two native members of the Council of India, W., later Sir William, Galloway, mining engineer, L. Starr Jameson, of South African fame, and E. R., now Sir Edwin Ray, Lankester, later professor of Zoology. F. C. Selous, the African hunter, and C. E. Beevor, neurologist, came in 1870–1. 1871–2 produced two eminent physiologists in Francis Gotch and W. H. Gaskell. 1872–3 brought D. W. Buxton, anæsthetist, T. McKinnon Wood, who became a member of Asquith's cabinet, J. Viriamu Jones, physicist and first principal of the University College of South Wales, W., later Sir William, Osler, who became regius professor of Medicine at Oxford, M. J. M. Hill, later professor of Mathematics, and Oliver J. Lodge. D., later Sir Dawson, Williams, editor of the *British Medical Journal*, T. E., now Lord Justice, Scrutton, F. W., later Sir Frederick, Mott, neurologist, and V. A. H., later Sir Victor, Horsley, physiologist and surgeon, came in 1873–4. 1874–5 brought J. H. M'Carthy, dramatist and novelist, S. C. Hill, known for his work on the records of the East India Company, and G. J. Romanes, physiologist. J. G. Schurman, afterwards president of Cornell and now United States ambassador in Berlin, W., later Sir Walter, Palmer, one of the founders of Huntley and Palmers, and R. Marcus Gunn, surgeon, came in 1875–6,

W. F. R. Weldon, zoologist, E. M. Crookshank, bacteriologist, W. S., later Sir William, Meyer, first High Commissioner for India, D. S. MacColl, later Keeper of the Tate Gallery and of the Wallace Collection, and W. B. Benham, zoologist, in 1876–7. 1877–8 brought Patrick Geddes, educationist and sociologist, Hugh Price Hughes, Methodist divine, P. S. Worthington, architect, and Israel Abrahams, a noted Jewish scholar. In 1878–9 there came S. F., later Sir Sidney, Harmer, who became director of the Natural History department of the British Museum, and Dr. Mary Scharlieb, while the lectures of the professor of Political Economy were attended by Mrs. Henry Fawcett. 1879–80 brought W. M., later Sir William, Bayliss, physiologist, W. A., later Sir Walter, Raleigh, who became professor of English at Oxford, A. Beresford Pite, architect, Rabindranath Tagore, and T. Hudson Beare, afterwards a professor at the college and now regius professor of Engineering at Edinburgh.[1]

[1] Register of Students, xvii, 287; xviii, 4, 9, 26, 29, 42, 48, 62, 97, 150, 193, 219, 253 (cf. xix, 45), 290; xix, 2, 16, 31, 85, 66, 62, 99, 117, 125, 163, 180, 185; Fee Books, 1868–9, Med., A., nos. 87, 121, 118, Arts, C., no. 402; 1869–70, Arts, A., nos. 54, 140, B., nos. 266, 321, Med., C., no. 384, D., no. 576; 1870–1, Med., B., no. 307, Arts, C., no. 543; 1871–2, Arts, A., no. 78, Med., C., no. 530; 1872–3, Arts, A. nos. 43, 47, 196, Med., B., no. 348, Arts, B., no. 355, F., no. 1,026; 1873–4, Med., A., no. 25, Arts, A., nos. 20, 199, Med., C., no. 522; 1874–5, Arts, A., no. 88, B., no. 272, Med., C., no. 437; 1875–6, Arts, B., nos. 208, 354, Med., C., no. 473; 1876–7, Arts, A., nos. 4, 20, B., nos. 266, 317, D., no. 721; 1877–8, Med., A., no. 3, Arts, A., nos. 14, 137, C., no. 549; 1878–9, Arts, A., no. 84, E., nos. 902, 920; 1879–80, Arts, A., no. 17, B., no. 348, C., nos. 488, 552, G., no. 1281. For Robertson, Hartog, and Romanes, *cf. D.N.B.*; for Wilkins, Ayrton, Corfield, Roberts, H. Williams, Beever, Jones, and Weldon, *ibid.*, *2nd Suppl.*; for Legg, Hunter, Gowers, Kitchener, Jameson, Selous, Gaskell, Osler, and Horsley, *ibid.*, 1912–1921; for Poore, Allchin, Gotch, Palmer, Gunn, and Hughes, *cf. Who was Who*; for Carpenter, J. Williams, Wicksteed, Newell Martin, Tweedy, Godlee, Beck, Ball, Thornycroft, Banerjea, Bell, Gould, Morris, Gupta, Galloway, Wood, D. Williams, Mott, S. C. Hill, Crookshank, Meyer, Abrahams, Bayliss, and Raleigh, *cf. The Times*, 3 June, 1927, 14 b, 25 May, 1926, 19 d, 21 March, 1927, 17 e & 25 March, 19 c, 3 Nov., 1896, 4 a, 7 Jan., 1924, 14 c, 21 Apr., 1925, 19 b, 25 May, 1893, 10 e, 6 Apr., 1925, 16 d, 21 Dec., 1925, 18 a, 7 Aug., 1925, 14 a-b, 3 Aug., 1922, 14 b, 20 Apr., 1922, 14 f, 15 June, 1926, 11 c, 30 March, 1926, 19 c, 4 Nov., 1927, 17 d, 28 March, 1927, 16 b, 28 Feb., 1928, 21 e, 9 June, 1926, 18 c & 12 June, 14 e, 24 May, 1926, 17 a, 3 July, 1928, 18 b, 20 Oct., 1922, 15 e, 7 Oct., 1925, 9 c, 28

To this list is to be added a group of students who represent the introduction of a new element into the life of the college—the members of the Slade School. Between 1871 and 1880 they gave some notable names to art and letters, and the mere recital of some of those among them who became distinguished will illustrate at once the catholicity of the department. The first session, that of 1871–2, brought Mr. George Moore, Evelyn Pickering, afterwards Mrs. William De Morgan, Ralph Caldecott, the Hon. John Collier, and J. B. Yeats, followed in 1872–3 by Mary Kingsley, better known under her *nom de plume* as Lucas Malet, and Kate Greenaway. The Hon. Emily Lawless, and H. S. Tuke, entered in 1874–5, W. Strang and A. W. Parsons in 1875–6, and W. G. Collingwood, the biographer of Ruskin, in 1876–7, while the session 1878–9 brought the novelist, Bernard Capes, and the Countess Feodora Gleichen.[1]

Aug., 1924, 12 d–e, 15 May, 1922, 15 f; for Kay-Shuttleworth, Fleming, Sonnenschein, Thane, Barlow, Schäfer, Scott, Lankester, Buxton, Hill, Lodge, Scrutton, M'Carthy, Schurman, MacColl, Benham, Geddes, Worthington, Harmer, Scharlieb, Fawcett, Pite, Tagore, and Beare, *cf. Who's Who*, 1928. See also, *Philosophical Remains of George Croom Robertson . . .* edited by A. Bain and T. Whittaker, 1894, xi; G. C. A. Arthur: *Life of Lord Kitchener*, 3 v., 1920, i, 5; Sir Surendranath Banerjea: *A Nation in Making. Being the Reminiscences of Fifty Years of Public Life*, 1925, 19–21; I. Colvin: *The Life of Jameson*, 2 v., 1922, i, 9–10; J. G. Millais: *Life of Frederick Courtney Selous*, 1918, 64; K. V. Jones: *Life of John Viramu Jones*, 1915, 15–9; E. B. Poulton: *John Viriamu Jones*, 1911, 27–9; H. Cushing: *The Life of Sir William Osler*, 2 v., Oxford, 1925, i, c. v.; S. Paget: *Sir Victor Horsley*, 1919, cc. iii–iv; *The Life and Letters of George John Romanes.* Written and edited by his Wife, 1896, 14 *et seq.*; *The Life of Hugh Price Hughes.* By his Daughter, 1905, 115; Sir W. Raleigh: *The Faith of England*, 1917, 3–5; R. Tagore: *My Reminiscences*, 1917, 175–6.

[1] Fee Books, Arts, 1871–2, B., no. 202, C., no. 465, E., nos. 765, 792, 817; 1872–3, C., no. 596, D., no. 696; 1874–5, C., nos. 547, 590; 1875–6, B., no. 314, E., no. 807; 1876–7, A., no. 27; 1878–9, A., no. 114, F., no. 1133. For Kate Greenaway, *cf. D.N.B., 2nd Suppl.*; for Strang, *ibid.*, 1912–1921; for Caldecott, Yeats, Lawless, Parsons, Capes, and Gleichen, *cf. The Times*, 15 Feb., 1886, 7 a, 4 Feb., 1922, 12 f, 23 Oct., 1913, 11 d, 21 Jan., 1920, 15 e, 4 Nov., 1918, 11 c, 23 Feb., 1922, 14 d; for Moore, Collier, Tuke, and Collingwood, *cf. Who's Who*, 1928. See also A. M. W. Stirling: *William De Morgan and his Wife*, 1922, 178–80; H. Blackburn: *Randolph Caldecott: A Personal Memoir of his early art Career*, 1886, 30; H. M. Spielmann & G. S. Layard: *Kate Greenaway*, 1905, 43.

CHAPTER X

THE ADMISSION OF WOMEN

In the decade between 1868 and 1878 the college, by granting admission to women, effected the most revolutionary change which has so far occurred in the course of its history.

There were signs of the approach of this reform at a much earlier date, but it proved to be a false dawn. Panizzi was permitted by the Council in 1828 to open his lectures on Italian literature to women, and they composed the bulk of the audience of about fifty which he attracted. But the course was delivered at Willis' Rooms, and it was no different from numerous other lectures given in public places to audiences of both sexes.[1] What was much more truly an innovation was the admission of women to Ritchie's juvenile course on Natural Philosophy, delivered during the session 1831–2. There came to those lectures a Miss Rogers and Mrs. J. P. Potter, wife of the author of the *Letter to the Right Hon. Robert Peel*, and the mother of the J. P. Potter who became a distinguished member of the hospital staff.[2] Mrs. Potter's husband, his apprehensions vanished, and her son, aged fourteen, were already students of the college.[3] In the Register the names of the two women are entered with those of the men.[4] While Ritchie's course was regarded as being of an 'elementary and popular character'[5] and at the same date women were admitted to similar lectures at the Mechanics' Institution without securing membership,[6] it is the kind of thing which later was to lead to full admission. But for the time being it remained an isolated episode.

[1] Minutes, i, f. 305; Corres., No. 3379.

[2] J. Foster: *Alumni Oxonienses . . .* 1715–1886, 4 v., 1888, *s.v.*; *D.N.B.*, *s.v.* J. P. Potter.

[3] Register of Students, iii, f. 101. [4] *Ibid.*, f. 111; Minutes, ii, ff. 353–4.

[5] *University of London. Distribution of the Prizes and Certificates of Honour. Session* 1832–1833 . . . *Faculties of Arts and of Law*, 3.

[6] C. D. Burns: *A Short History of Birkbeck College*, 1924, 43–4, *cf.* 56.

Miss Rogers and Mrs. Potter had no successors for nearly thirty years. The female mind, it was still taken generally for granted, was by nature foolish. The *Lancet* reported the ceremony of the distribution of prizes at the university in 1833.

"A new interest," it said, "was given to the meeting this year, by the admission of ladies—relatives and others of the teachers and students. A galaxy of these occupied the benches behind the chair, and nearly half of the remaining portion of the audience were also of the same sex. Some were excited to tears by particular portions of the scene, and all appeared gratified at the proceedings, a view of which they were for the first time in London invited to share." [1]

An improvement in the higher education of women began in the 'forties. To this advance the university contributed the assistance given by the professors of King's College to the foundation of Queen's College in 1848, and that given by F. D. Maurice and the Rev. W. Nicolay of King's College, and A. J. Scott, F. W. Newman, and De Morgan from University College, to the founding of the Ladies' College, Bedford Square, in 1849.[2]

In the 'sixties events moved more rapidly. The foundation of the *Englishwoman's Journal* and of the Society for the Employment of Women, in 1858, provided a rallying point for reformers, and the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, established in 1857, afforded them a platform. The adoption by Elizabeth Garrett of a medical career, and her endeavours to secure a medical education and a medical degree led, in 1862, to the formation of a committee for obtaining the admission of women to university examinations. Permission to sit for the Cambridge Locals was secured in 1865, and opportunity was taken of the Schools Enquiry Commission to make known the conditions which prevailed in the education of girls. In 1867 there was launched a project for a new college for women, which led ultimately to the foundation of Girton, and at the same time there developed what Emily Davies regarded as a rival scheme under the leadership of Miss Clough. The foundation of

[1] *Lancet, MDCCCXXXII–XXXIII*, ii, 290; *cf.* Minutes, ii, ff. 356, 370.

[2] *Cf.* S. E. De Morgan: *Memoir of Augustus De Morgan*, 1882, 173–5; C. S. Bremner: *Education of Girls and Women in Great Britain*, 1897, 126–30.

the London Schoolmistresses' Association in 1866, and of other similar bodies, led to the establishment of the North of England Council for the Promotion of the Higher Education of Women, which sought to organise lectures for women in the large towns, and which showed itself ready to accept from the University of Cambridge in 1868 a special examination for women,[1] and in that year Ladies' Educational Associations were formed in Edinburgh and in several towns of Lancashire and Yorkshire for bringing teachers from the Scottish or English universities to give courses of about ten lectures to women only.[2] At this stage University College took a prominent part.

Already, in the session 1861–2, John Marshall had delivered a course of lectures on Animal Physiology to a class composed exclusively of women, and the names of women students had again appeared in the Register.[3]

"This course," it was stated in the *Annual Report*, "was instituted in compliance with an application from the Honourable Mrs. William Cowper, on behalf of the Ladies' Sanitary Association, and with the wishes of the Schoolmistresses connected with the Social Science Association of Schoolmasters to have a course delivered to them similar to that which the College had provided for Schoolmasters. The Course consisted of 13 Lectures given by Mr. Marshall, one each week, on Saturdays at 3 o'clock. The payment for admission was One Guinea, with a reduction to Half-a-Guinea in favour of ladies engaged in Education, District Visiting, and the like pursuits. Of the latter class there were 97 attendants; the total number entered to the Course was 113."[4]

In 1868 women were admitted to the Tuesday evening lectures,[5] and in the next year, following the example of the north, there were started courses of lectures to women only, conducted under the auspices of a London Ladies' Educational Association,[6] which, in the minds of some of those

[1] B. Stephen: *Emily Davies and Girton College*, 1927, 49–201.

[2] H. S. Solly: *The Life of Henry Morley*, 1898, 263.

[3] Register of Students, xvii, ff. 311 *et seq.*

[4] *Ann. Rept.*, 1862, 11. [5] *Ibid.*, 1868, 12.

[6] H. S. Solly: *The Life of Henry Morley*, 1898, 263; C. S. Bremner: *Education of Girls and Women in Great Britain*, 1897, 92, 130; G. C. Foster: *The London Ladies' Educational Association and the Admission of Women to University College, London* [n.d.]; *The Times*, 26 Dec., 1868, 7 a.

who began this work, it was intended from the start should lead to the opening to women of the science and arts classes at University College.[1]

In March, 1869, two courses were opened at the Beethoven Rooms in Harley Street, Carey Foster lecturing on science, and Henry Morley on literature. In November, 1869, the courses were given in St. George's Hall, and were extended to thirty-six lectures. During that winter, for readier access to the apparatus necessary for experiments, two of the science classes were allowed to meet at the college.[2] In 1870–1 lectures were given by Hirst, Seeley, Williamson, and Cassal as well as Morley and Carey Foster, and the number of classes held at the college was increased to four.[3] In 1871–2 the Council consented to admit all of the women's classes, and the number rose from eight to twenty-one.[4] But it is to be observed that all which had so far happened was that women had been physically present in the lecture-rooms of the college. The classes were the classes of the professors, and not of the college, and were controlled by the committee of the London Ladies' Educational Association.[5] The fact that the college did little more for its professors than grant them a licence to teach and provide them with a place in which to lecture facilitated the use of its lecture-rooms for the instruction of those who were not its students. It needed to feel as little responsibility in admitting women whom it did not recognise as it felt in allowing, as it frequently did, the use of its rooms to teachers whom it had not appointed. Yet even so the innovation was hedged about with the greatest caution. The classes met and separated at the half-hours, that the men might be safely occupied at their coming and going, and the women were admitted

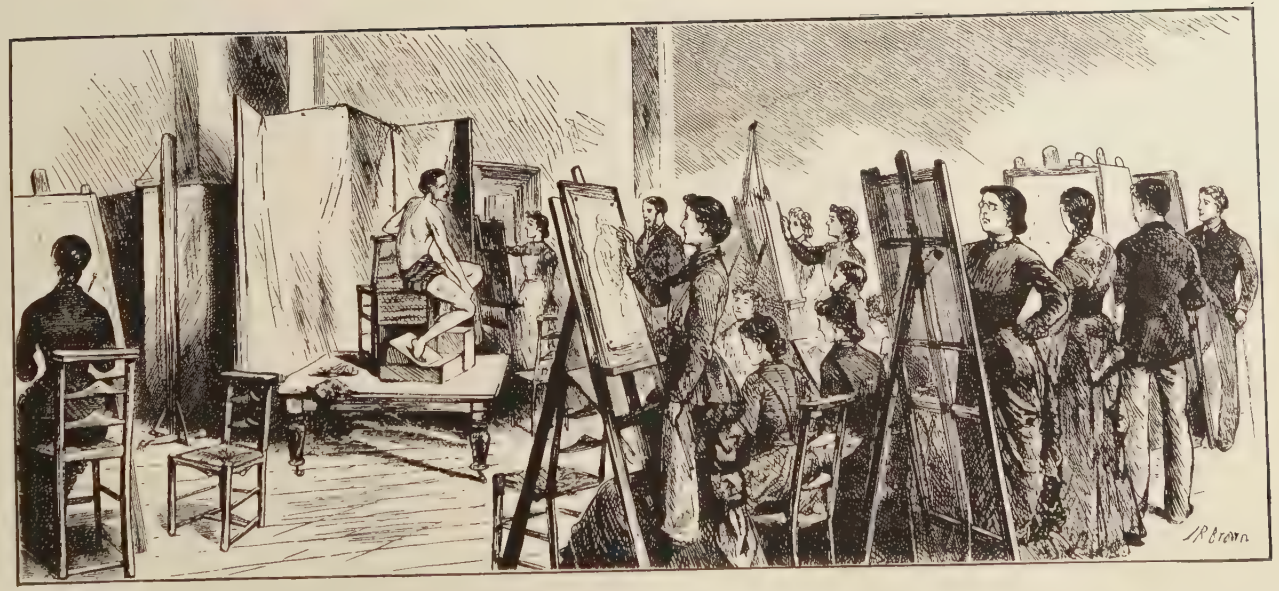
[1] H. S. Solly: *The Life of Henry Morley*, 1898, 263–4; H. Morley: *University College, London*, 1828–1878. *Introductory Lecture*, 1878, 25.

[2] *Ann. Rept.*, 1870, 14–5.

[3] *Ibid.*, 1871, 19.

[4] H. S. Solly: *The Life of Henry Morley*, 1898, 264; *Ann. Rept.*, 1872, 17; *Philosophical Remains of George Croom Robertson* . . . Edited by A. Bain . . . and T. Whittaker, 1894, xix; *The Times*, 27 Oct., 1871, 10 b, 17 Oct., 1872, 8 f, 6 Oct., 1874, 9 f.

[5] H. S. Solly: *The Life of Henry Morley*, 1898, 264, 284–5.



THE LIFE CLASS IN THE "SLADE" ROOM.
From *The Graphic*, 26 February, 1881.

by a side door to avoid the risks of crossing the front quadrangle.[1]

But practical exigences made themselves felt, and extreme caution and propriety of demeanour had their reward. Women were admitted to the Slade School in 1871. It was pointed out that, while at Kensington the schools were quite distinct for the two sexes, at the Royal Academy twenty-five women were working in the draped schools with men. At first it was proposed that to meet the case of lady students an entirely separate set of rooms should be provided, with a separate entrance from the upper part of Gower Street,[2] but in the session 1872–3 women were admitted to mixed classes, and nothing very disastrous happened.[3] In 1872, there was actually carried a proposal that women should be allowed to become members of the Debating Society, but the regularity of the proceedings was disputed and the decision was overruled by the Council,[4] which in 1874 refused to allow the admission of women even as visitors.[5] In the session 1873–4 examinations were instituted for the women's classes, and certificates granted.[6] In 1874 the women were provided with a separate physical laboratory.[7] Gradually they penetrated to the ordinary classes. The system adopted involved the duplication of lectures. The professor of Political Economy declined to undertake this additional burden, and in the session 1871–2 lectured to a mixed audience.[8] Women were admitted to the class of Jurisprudence in 1873,[9] to lectures on Geology and on Roman Law in 1875,[10] to Mineralogy and the Higher Senior class in Mathematics in 1876,[11] and to

[1] H. S. Solly: *The Life of Henry Morley*, 1898, 264, 277; W. Grant: Historical Notes relating to University College, London [MS. in the college library], f. 23; *Ann. Rept.*, 1870, 15.

[2] *University College, London. Slade Schools of Fine Art. Circular for Assistance and Advice* [1869], 4, 6; *Ann. Rept.*, 1871, 18.

[3] *Ann. Rept.*, 1873, 16.

[4] *London Students' Gazette*, 1872, 11–2; *Abstracts*, i, 1871–2, no. 53.

[5] *Abstracts*, i, 1873–4, no. 56. [6] *The Times*, 6 Oct., 1874, 9 f.

[7] *Ann. Rept.*, 1875, 21.

[8] *Philosophical Remains of George Croom Robertson* . . . Edited by A. Bain . . . and T. Whittaker, xix; *Ann. Rept.*, 1872, 17, 1873, 17, 1874, 17, 1875, 20.

[9] *Ann. Rept.*, 1874, 17, 1875, 20. [10] *Ibid.*, 1876, 20. [11] *Ibid.*, 1877, 12.

a number of additional courses in 1877.[1] Competition for the Hume and Ricardo Scholarships was thrown open to women.[2] In 1874 Eliza Orme took the prize in Jurisprudence, to which she added in 1876 the first place in Roman Law and the Hume Scholarship in Jurisprudence.[3] In 1878 the period of transition ended. The London Ladies' Educational Association transferred to the college the whole of its interest in the classes, and they stood thenceforth upon the same footing as those attended by the men,[4] and one by one lectures hitherto reserved to one sex or the other were opened to both until mixed classes became the rule.[5]

To its decision to take over the work of the Ladies' Educational Association the college was prompted by the fact that the university had now opened its degrees to women.[6] But its action did not mean that women were admitted to the Faculty of Medicine.[7] That was not fully granted until 1917.[8] A Women's Debating Society was founded in November, 1878,[9] but in the following month the Council again ruled against the admission of women to the men's Society,[10] and in 1882 it prevented their admission to the Chemical and Physical Society.[11] They were admitted to the Day Training Department in 1895.[12] In 1913 Margaret Gilliland, Fellow of the College, was elected as the first woman member of the College Committee.[13] In 1918 women were admitted to the University College Hospital Medical School.[14]

The number of women who came to the first courses established by the London Ladies' Educational Association was 152. By 1876 it had risen to 394.[15] In 1878, when women

[1] *Ann. Rept.*, 1878, 12; *cf. The Times*, 20 Oct., 1877, 10 f.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1872, 17, 1877, 7. [3] *Cal.*, 1874, 76, 1876, 75, 1877, 91.

[4] *Ann. Rept.*, 1879, 14; *Abstracts*, ii, 1877–8, nos. 116, 133, 136, 230; *Statement . . .* 1878, 6–7; H. S. Solly: *The Life of Henry Morley*, 1898, 307–8.

[5] *Abstracts*, ii, 1878–9, nos. 12, 114, 147, 194, iii, 1880–1, nos. 36, 63, 1883–4, no. 145, 1884–5, no. 14, iv, 1885–6, nos. 39, 73.

[6] *Cf. Quarterly Review*, clxiv, 1887, 49–51; *The Times*, 17 Jan., 1878, 9 e–f.

[7] *Cal.*, 1878, lvii; *The Times*, 12 July, 1878, 11 e.

[8] *Ann. Rept.*, 1917, 38, 1918, 41, 45. [9] *Abstracts*, ii, 1878–9, no. 23.

[10] *Ibid.*, no. 42. [11] *Ibid.*, iii, 1882–3, no. 115.

[12] *Ann. Rept.*, 1894, 14, 1895, 13. [13] *Ibid.*, 1913, 7.

[14] *Cal.*, 1918, lxxxi. [15] *Statement . . .* 1878, 7.

were first fully admitted to the college, the number was 309, and was approximately one half of that of the men, including the medical students.[1] At the close of the century it had increased by 34, but the proportion was practically the same.[2] In 1926 it was 1074, exclusive of women attending evening classes and vacation courses, and the proportion approached nearly to that of five women to six men.[3]

In 1882 there was founded a hall of residence for women students, known as College Hall.[4] In its establishment Carey Foster and Henry Morley took an active part.[5] It was opened on the 1st of October at No. 1, Byng Place, in premises which had formerly been occupied by Coward College, but which had been converted into three separate dwelling-houses when that institution left. The Hall at first contained ten students. In 1883 it was extended to include the second, and in 1887 the third of the three houses and the old college premises were thus restored. The first Principal was Miss Eleanor Grove,[6] with whom was associated as Vice-Principal Miss Rosa Morrison.[7] Both of them had worked at Queen's College, Harley Street, Miss Grove having been appointed Assistant-Secretary in 1873 and Lady Resident in 1875, and Miss Morrison, from being a student there, having risen to be tutor and then Assistant Lady Resident. In 1883 Miss Morrison was made Lady Superintendent at the college,[8] a post which she held until her death in 1912, when the office was changed to that of Tutor to Women Students,[9] and she was succeeded by Miss Winifred Smith,[10] familiarly and affectionately known as 'Auntie Winnie.'

[1] *Ann. Rept.*, 1879, 9. [2] *Cal.*, 1900, 408. [3] *Cal.*, 1926, 475.

[4] T. N. Brodhurst: *College Hall, London* [n.d.]; *Survey of Twenty-one Years' Work done by College Hall*, 1903. *An Address delivered by Sir Norman Lockyer, K.C.B., F.R.S., &c.*; *Notes*, 13, 51–2.

[5] H. S. Solly: *The Life of Henry Morley*, 1898, 338–40.

[6] *University College Gazette*, ii, 1898–1901, 168; *U.C.L. Union Magazine*, i, 1904–6, 178–80; L. Macdonald: Miss Grove [Typescript in the college library]. [7] *U.C.L. Union Magazine*, v, 1911–2, 289–90.

[8] *Ann. Rept.*, 1884, 14; *Abstracts*, iii, 1882–3, nos. 48, 56, and 13 Jan., App. 68, 185. [9] *Ann. Rept.*, 1913, 17–8.

[10] *The Times*, 11 Jan., 1926, 16 d–e, 9 June, 1926, 10 c; *University College Magazine*, iv, 1925–7, 60–2.

CHAPTER XI

THE 'EIGHTIES AND 'NINETIES

The statistical charts reveal the period between 1880 and 1900 as one of fluctuating fortune. The rapid development of the preceding quarter of a century received a check. Only after the reform of the university in 1898–1900 was the process of expansion renewed. Not until after that date was there any secure return to the position reached in 1880. The period was for the college a time of ever-growing complexity in its internal organisation. In its external politics the years were years of conflict.

While faced with these problems the governing body of the college suffered some serious losses, but there came also to its aid some notable recruits. In 1878 the college had to deplore the death of Sir Francis H. Goldsmid, whose services had extended over many years and who had been a munificent benefactor,[1] and in 1879 Lord Belper, who had succeeded Grote as President, resigned his office.[2] In 1887, differences of opinion about the policy to be adopted in the reconstruction of the university led to the resignation of his successor, Lord Kimberley, together with the Vice-President, Lord Justice Fry as he then was, the Treasurer, Sir Julian Goldsmid, and several members of the Council.[3] But in their place there came to the fore Sir George Young, a member of the Council since 1875, a Vice-President of the Senate, 1878–80, and its President from 1880 to 1886; John F., later Sir John, Rotton;[4] R. B., later Viscount, Haldane,[5] a

[1] *Ann. Rept.*, 1879, 13; *Memoir of Sir Francis Henry Goldsmid* . . . 2nd ed., 1882.

[2] *Ann. Rept.*, 1880, 10.

[3] *Abstracts*, iv, 1886–7, nos. 120, 126; *Ann. Rept.*, 1888, 12; *The Times*, 21 June, 1887, 13 c; W. H. Allchin: *An Account of the Reconstruction of the University of London*, 3 pts., 1905–12, i, 178–80.

[4] *The Times*, 20 Apr., 1926, 18 c; *University College Magazine*, iv, 1926–7, 118–9.

[5] *The Times*, 20 Aug., 1928, 17 a–e.

Vice-President of the Senate from 1896 to 1899 and Vice-President of the College from 1897 to 1899; and Lord Reay,[1] who joined the Council in 1881 and became Vice-President of the college from 1892 to 1897, its President from 1897 to 1907, and Chairman of the College Committee from that date until 1921.

At the same time an important change in the constitution of the college was effected. In 1885 admission to the Council was accorded to three members of the Senate, increased in 1888 to six.[2]

The significance of these events was that the intellectual life of the college had outgrown the framework within which it was confined. The work of its professors was hampered by arrangements devised to suit much simpler conditions, by an administrative office unequal to the strain which the rapid growth of the college had put upon it, and by the regulations of a university over which they had no control. Before the advance could be resumed it was necessary to adapt the organisation of the college to the existing needs of the teachers, to overhaul the administrative system, and to reform the university. The rise of new personalities in the governing circles of the college, and the alteration in the constitution of the Council, are indications that these changes were in progress.

i. Administration, Finance, and Buildings

The rapid growth which had taken place during the 'sixties and 'seventies put a great strain upon the resources of the college in buildings, equipment, and personnel. Much, but not all, that was necessary was accomplished before 1900. The problems of space and equipment were eased by extensive building, but the college at the end of the century, far from the possession of a fund for the endowment of teaching, found itself in debt.

The urgent need for better professorial salaries has already been observed. The problem was aggravated by success. As a department became more highly developed and its parts

[1] *D.N.B.*, 1912–21; *Ann. Rept.*, 1922, 21–3, 82–93; *University College Magazine*, ii, 1921–2, 23–5; *The Times Educational Supplement*, 1921, 443.

[2] *Ann. Rept.*, 1886, 14, 1888, 14.

more highly specialised, the number of hours which it became necessary to devote to teaching increased out of all proportion to the increase in the number of students, and the growth of laboratory work made the problem still more acute. The consequence was the appearance of a new grade of teachers in the person of the assistant. But the assistant was the private servant of the professor, appointed by him subject to the approval of the Council, and paid by him out of his share of fees. And it is to be added that before that share was calculated the cost of laboratory equipment had usually to be met.[1]

The situation is illustrated by the case of Carey Foster. The number of hours of class-teaching in the department of Physics increased from 180 in the session 1868–9 to 400 in the session 1879–80, apart from the fact that at the latter date there was a physical laboratory open for 35 hours a week.[2] The professor, therefore, was constrained to employ an assistant. But he could not offer to him a remuneration sufficient to retain for long the services of a man of first-rate ability, and the effect on his own salary was that his average income for the years 1865 to 1879 was not quite £276, that while his income in 1866–7 was within £11 of the average it was below it as late as 1875–6, and that it had never in any one session reached £400.[3]

It was clear that if the work of the more advanced classes was to be maintained a more sufficient endowment of teaching was needed, and it was urged that the establishment of a General Fund, from which there could be made as occasion arose grants in aid, would be of more value than the endowment of single chairs.[4]

The income from endowments during the period shows a fairly steady and a substantial increase. The first parliamentary grant was received in 1889,[5] and the first grant from

[1] *Abstracts*, ii, 1879–80, 29 June, 1880, pp. 6–7, vi, 1895–6, nos. 19, 39, 75.

[2] *Ibid.*, ii, 1879–80, 29 June, 1880, p. 9.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 13–4; *cf.* v, 1894–5, no. 153; *Reports from University Colleges participating in the Grant of £25,000 made by Parliament for University Colleges in Great Britain*, 1900 [Cd. 331], 227–8. H. of C., 1900, XX, 259.

[4] *Abstracts*, ii, 1878–9, 1 March, 1879, p. 11.

[5] *Ann. Rept.*, 1890, 14, 1897, 15, 1898, 13–4; *Abstracts*, iv, 1889–90, no. 10.

the London County Council in 1894.[1] But the fee-revenue declined and the general financial position remained serious.

"In spite of Parliamentary and Municipal assistance," reported the Council in 1898, "and of such economy as it is possible, consistently with any high standard of efficiency, to practise, the large and growing burden of rates and repairs place it beyond the power of the Council to make expenditure balance income even in ordinary years; and when, as last session, there is a falling off in fees, there necessarily results a striking deficit such as that of upwards of £4,000 which the Council regret to have to call attention to on the present occasion."[2]

A survey of the financial history of the college over a period of thirty years ending on the 31st of August, 1897, showed the debt of the college to its bankers to be £30,000.[3]

The consequence was that at the close of the century the sum available for the remuneration of the teaching staff continued to be insufficient and the arrangements for its distribution unsatisfactory.

Meanwhile notable progress had been made in the extension of buildings and equipment to meet the requirements of the newly developed departments.

A programme for the completion of the buildings was laid down in a *Statement*[4] issued in 1878. The most urgent needs were the provision of better accommodation for Fine Art, Chemistry, Physiology, and Engineering, and of space for the expansion of the Boys' School. To serve the first of these purposes the extension of the North wing was begun in 1878, after designs by the professor of Architecture, T. Hayter Lewis. The first rooms in it were open for use in the autumn of 1880. It was completed, with the consequential changes in the main building, in 1881.[5] Of the extension of the North wing the whole of the top floor was given to Physiology, the whole of the first floor and part of

[1] *Ann. Rept.*, 1895, 14, *cf.* 1896, 13; *Abstracts*, v, 1894–5, no. 10.

[2] *Ann. Rept.*, 1898, 7–8, *cf.* 1899, 7, 1900, 6. [3] *Ibid.*, 1899, 13–4.

[4] *University College, London. Statement of Present Requirements and Proposal for Completion of the Building*, 1878.

[5] *Ann. Rept.*, 1879, 14–5, 1880, 11–2, 1881, 14–5, 1882, 14.

the ground floor were devoted to the Slade School, and the basement and the remainder of the ground floor to Chemistry, for which there was also provided a large laboratory on the ground behind. In consequence there were changes in the old main building. Engineering obtained more space in the basement of the Brundrett wing. On the ground floor the rooms vacated by Physiology provided a Reading Room, a Men's Common Room, and a Botanical Laboratory, those hitherto occupied by the Slade and by Chemistry were allotted to the Medical Society, while on the first floor Comparative Anatomy and Zoology expanded at the expense of the Slade School into the original section of the North wing.[1]

During the next ten years a number of minor alterations were made. The Birkbeck Laboratory was enlarged in 1884.[2] In 1886 the Geological Museum was moved from what is now the Office to a room on the top floor.[3] In the same year the Anatomical Theatre was remodelled.[4] In 1887 the Sharpey Library was moved to the Arts end of the building and its place taken by the Museum of Materia Medica, and the Refreshment Room was enlarged.[5] In 1888 the small Dissecting Room was reconstructed and extended.[6] In 1889, the Birkbeck Laboratory was transferred to the uses of Pathology and of Botany.[7]

In 1891 further building operations were begun. An appeal was issued for further funds for new buildings, new teaching appliances, and the better payment of teachers. The urgent needs of the college, the Council stated, were :—

" 1. A new Laboratory for Experimental Physics : 2. A properly equipped Electrical Laboratory : 3. Further accommodation and additional machines in the Engineering School : 4. A collection of architectural models and a School of Architectural Drawing : 5. Additional

[1] *An Account of the New North Wing and Recent Additions to University College, London, opened February 16th, 1881, by the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Kimberley ; Cal.*, 1880, plan.

[2] *Ann. Rept.*, 1885, 14.

[3] *Notes*, 30, 63 ; *Cal.*, 1885, plan, 1886, plan.

[4] *Ann. Rept.*, 1887, 15 ; *Notes*, 30.

[5] *Ann. Rept.*, 1888, 15.

[6] *Ibid.*, 1889, 15.

[7] *Abstracts*, iv, 1889–90, no. 31 ; *Ann. Rept.*, 1891, 14.

THE SLADE SCHOOL.
From a drawing by H. O. Corfiato.

Laboratory space and apparatus for the work it is contemplated to undertake in connection with the Society for the Extension of University Teaching in London."[1]

The erection of an additional building in the quadrangle south of the library wing and of an extension of the South wing were determined upon.[2] The former, allotted to a new Physical Laboratory, known as the Carey Foster Laboratory, was finished by the autumn of 1892.[3] The extension of the South wing, devoted to new Mechanical and Electrical Engineering Laboratories, was opened in 1893.[4] It comprised the block of buildings at a right-angle to the existing South wing and fronting upon Gower Street, the northern part of the block not carried to its full extent northwards and temporarily only one storey high.[5] It was designed by the professor of Architecture, T. Roger Smith.

In 1892, the roadway between the college and the hospital was sold to the vestry of St. Pancras and became a public highway.[6]

ii. The Reform of the University[7]

By the 'seventies there had grown up a considerable body of discontent with the constitution of London University under the charter of 1858. Of that discontent there were two principal causes. Upon the one hand medical education in London suffered from the fact that, whereas the London medical student was often better trained than his contemporaries in other medical schools, the regulations of the university made it much more difficult for him than it was

[1] *Ann. Rept.*, 1891, 13; *The Times*, 26 Jan., 1891, 8 a.

[2] *Ann. Rept.*, 1892, 14–5. [3] *Ibid.*, 1893, 14.

[4] *Ibid.*, 1894, 13–4; *An Account of the new Engineering and Electrical Laboratories in University College, London, opened . . . on the 29th May*, 1893.

[5] *An Account* [etc.], 11; *cf. The Times*, 29 May, 1893, 6 c, 30 May, 1893, 4 a, 3 June, 1893, 6 e, 6 June 1893, 4 e; *Abstracts*, v, 1893–4, no. 125.

[6] *Ann. Rept.*, 1893, 15.

[7] W. H. Allchin: *An Account of the Reconstruction of the University of London*, 3 pts., 1905–12; *Quarterly Review*, cxci, 1900, 445–68; K. Pearson: *The New University of London. A Guide to its History and a Criticism of its Defects*, 1892; T. L. Humberstone: *University Reform in London*, 1925.

for them to obtain the degree of M.D. On the other hand this medical grievance was but a particular illustration of a more general problem. The teachers in the several colleges found their work hampered at every turn by the fact that they had no control over the schedules for examinations for which their students were in preparation, and the whole intellectual life of the university, on its side, was starved by the limitation of its functions to those of an examining body. This discontent, receiving but tardy consideration in the Convocation and Senate of the university itself, found expression in two movements of opinion each of which led to a petition to the Privy Council. To solve the difficulties of the medical students there was shaped a proposal to create a new medical university with power to grant degrees, and to consist of the Royal Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons; while to promote the solution of the larger problem there was founded in 1884 an Association for Promoting a Teaching University for London, in which the leading spirit was Sir George Young, and of which the issue was a proposal to create a new and independent teaching university, to be called the Albert University, which was put forward in 1887 in a joint petition from University College and King's College.

Such proposals created many difficulties and aroused much opposition, and the whole matter was referred in 1888 to a Royal Commission of which Lord Selborne was chairman. The report of the Commission, issued in 1889, advised the rejection of the petition of the Royal Colleges and postponed a decision on that of University College and King's College until the university should have been given time to reform itself upon lines suggested by the commissioners. After prolonged and only partially successful negotiations with the interested parties, the Senate of the university at last produced a scheme in 1891, only to have it rejected by Convocation. Its failure was followed, not by a revival of the Commission, but by the hearing of the petition of the two colleges by the Privy Council, which resulted in a recommendation to the Crown to grant the Albert Charter, now called the Gresham Charter and revised in other particulars. But under the College Charter Act of 1871 it was required that

the charter should lie on the tables of both Houses of Parliament for thirty days before being confirmed, and the opposition which had been unheard or unsuccessful before the Council was thus given another opportunity. On the 10th of March, 1892, an address was carried by the House of Commons asking the Crown to withhold its assent, and the whole subject was once again referred to a Royal Commission, presided over, this time, by Lord Cowper.

The Commission reported in 1894 in favour, not of creating a second and independent university, but of combining the teaching university proposed to be set up by the Albert Charter with the existing examining body called the University of London, and it proposed to effect this by establishing an organic relation between the existing university upon the one hand and the London colleges and medical schools upon the other. To carry out its recommendations it was necessary to set up a Statutory Commission, and the accidents of politics, and opposition from various quarters, delayed the requisite legislation until 1898.[1] Under the statutes framed by the commissioners appointed under the University of London Act of that year, the college became in 1900 a school of the university, its professors and principal teachers were recognised as teachers of the university, and it obtained a share in the government of the new institution and therefore in the determination of its curriculum.[2] Henceforth there was added to the previous activities of the university what was called an 'internal side,' whereon the degree examinations were conducted by Boards composed of external examiners and of teachers from the colleges whose students were sitting for degrees, and the graduate was distinguished not merely by the fact that he had passed an examination, but also by the certificate that he had received a university education. It became possible to adjust the examination to the work instead of arranging the work to fit the examination, and it made work in the university a necessary qualification for an 'internal' degree.

[1] *Cf. The Life and Experiences of Sir Henry Enfield Roscoe.* Written by Himself, 1906, 339–45; *Richard Burdon Haldane. An Autobiography*, 1929, 124–8.

[2] *Ann. Rept.*, 1901, 24.

iii. The Work of Faculties

It is thus apparent that the main concern of the college during the last twenty years of the nineteenth century was to make adequate provision for the execution of what it had already undertaken to do, rather than to extend the scope of its activities. Between 1880 and 1900 its most notable achievements were to secure better accommodation for Fine Art, Chemistry, Physiology, Zoology, and Engineering, and to consolidate the successes already won by those and one or two other departments. Its most strenuous endeavours were devoted to the revision of its own organisation and to such a reform of the university as should relieve its teachers from the control of an alien body.

In the Faculty of Arts and Laws the new departures, while they were significant, were neither many nor very extensive. The foundations were laid of studies in Archæology, and a separate department of Egyptology was established. Much attention was given to the provision of courses for candidates for the Indian Civil Service, and there was an extensive reorganisation of the study of oriental languages. There was a revival of evening and public lectures, and an experiment was made with a department for the training of teachers.

Some attention to archæology had already been paid by the professors of Architecture. In 1869 Bunnell Lewis urged that part of the Slade bequest should be devoted to the foundation of a professorship of classical art, or archæology,[1] and in 1873 he was appointed to deliver a course of lectures on Classical Archæology.[2] In 1880 C. T., later Sir Charles, Newton,[3] Keeper of the Classical Antiquities in the British Museum, gave a course of lectures on Greek Sculpture and Painting, and at the end of the session a chair of Archæology was established and Newton was appointed professor.[4] In 1885 the chair was endowed by a bequest received by the

[1] Bunnell Lewis: *Letter to John Robson, Esq., on the Slade Professorships of Fine Art*, Camb., 1869.

[2] *Ann. Rept.*, 1873, 16. [3] *D.N.B., Suppl.*

[4] *Ann. Rept.*, 1881, 14; *Abstracts*, ii, 1879–80, no. 170.

college from James Yates,[1] and in 1889 the Council appointed, in succession to Newton, R. S. Poole, Keeper of Coins in the British Museum,[2] Miss Jane Harrison being among the candidates.[3]

Newton's lectures were devoted to Greek art. "In the year when he was appointed," writes Professor Gardner, "the so-called 'æsthetic movement' was at its height; and the somewhat affected and artificial interest in Greek art which was thus aroused led to remarkable crowds at Newton's first course of lectures. The Botanical Theatre was full to the doors each week, and genuine students were lost in an attendance led by Mrs. Langtry and Oscar Wilde. But Newton never lectured down to his audience, keeping up his own standard throughout; and the attendance soon fell to a normal level."[4] Poole, with the help of specialists in their several branches, covered a wider field, and devoted particular attention to Egyptology.[5] On his resignation in 1894 the chair remained vacant until the appointment of Professor E. A. Gardner in 1896.[6] Newton and Poole, employed all day at the Museum, had been visiting lecturers, and the department had no other equipment than a lecture-room and a series of wall-diagrams and drawings. In 1896 Professor Gardner was authorised to expend funds which had accumulated during the vacancy in forming the Yates Archæological Library, and the department obtained a share of the accommodation on the top floor allotted to Egyptology.[7]

One of the reasons for the delay in filling the chair of Archæology was the foundation of the chair of Egyptology under the will of Miss Amelia B. Edwards in 1892.[8]

Miss Edwards had travelled in Egypt in 1873–4 and since

[1] *Ann. Rept.*, 1885, 14, 1887, 16. [2] *D.N.B.*; *Ann. Rept.*, 1889, 13.

[3] *Abstracts*, iv, 1888–9, no. 8; *The Times*, 30 Oct., 1888, 6 e.

[4] Professor E. A. Gardner: History of the Department of Archæology in University College, London [MS. in the college library], ff. 3–4.

[5] *Ibid.*, ff. 4–5; *Notes and Materials*, 43–4. [6] *Ann. Rept.*, 1897, 12.

[7] Professor E. A. Gardner: History of the Department of Archæology in University College, London [MS. in the college library], ff. 5–6; *Cal.*, 1901, plan.

[8] *Abstracts*, v, 1891–2, no. 167; *Ann. Rept.*, 1893, 16; *The Times*, 30 Nov., 1892, 8 a.

that year had largely devoted her time to the promotion of the study of Egyptology in England, both by her writings and by the foundation, in association with Sir Erasmus Wilson, R. S. Poole, and others, of the Egypt Exploration Fund. When she determined to establish a chair of Egyptology her choice fell upon London, with a remainder to Oxford in the event of a failure to comply with her conditions, because London was alone open to women. At the instigation of Sir Erasmus Wilson she had already employed W. F., now Sir Flinders, Petrie, on the work of exploration in Egypt, and it was in accordance with her desire that he was appointed as the first occupant of the new chair,[1] and that under the terms of the appointment the winter of each year was to be spent upon work with students in Egypt itself. With the bequest of funds came also a library of books on Egyptology and a small collection of antiquities. In 1893 the new department acquired part of the top floor, above the Arts libraries, vacated by Engineering. The collection of antiquities was unpacked, and to it was added the professor's own collection, increased from year to year, at first deposited upon loan, but ultimately acquired by the college.[2] At the same time the books, hitherto housed in the South Library, were moved into the same quarters and liberally supplemented through the generosity of Miss Bradbury, the residuary legatee of Miss Edwards.[3]

The establishment of a department of Egyptology necessitated a rearrangement of the studies to be grouped under the name of Archæology. In 1896 the Council obtained the approval by the Charity Commissioners of a scheme by which the Yates professorship should be mainly devoted to Classical Archæology, a portion of the endowment being allotted to lecturers upon various special branches.[4]

[1] *Abstracts*, v, 1891–2, no. 193; *Ann. Rept.*, 1893, 13.

[2] *Ann. Rept.*, 1913, 36, 1914, 37–8.

[3] Professor Sir Flinders Petrie: Egyptology [MS. in the college library], ff. 1–2; *Notes and Materials*, 45–7; *Cal.*, 1895, plan.

[4] Professor E. A. Gardner: History of the Department of Archæology in University College, London [MS. in the college library], f. 5; *Notes and Materials*, 44; *Ann. Rept.*, 1895, 12, 1896, 14.

In the session 1882–3 the college, with the sanction of the Secretary of State for India, established an Indian School to provide for the training of Indian Civil Service Probationers in Hindu and Muhammadan Law and in Oriental Languages.[1] At that date the study of oriental languages was in charge of a professor of Arabic and Persian, a professor of Chinese, a lecturer in Sanskrit, and of T. W. Rhys Davids,[2] newly appointed professor of Páli and Buddhist Literature.[3] The Council proceeded to the appointment of lecturers in Hindustani, Bengali, Hindi, Tamil and Telugu, Gujeráti, Burmese, Marathi, and Indian Law.[4] A. H. Keane,[5] the lecturer in Hindustani, was advanced at once to the rank of professor.[6] In 1884, the lecturer in Sanskrit was similarly promoted,[7] and in that year the Council established a professorship of Indo-Chinese Philology.[8] In 1885 there was appointed to the chair of Sanskrit one of the most eminent of English Sanskritists, Cecil Bendall.[9] From 1887 to 1891 the teaching of Tamil was separated from that of Telugu,[10] and in 1895, Arabic from Persian,[11] when S. Arthur Strong [12] was appointed to the chair of Arabic. In 1889, in consequence of a proposal by the Imperial Institute to found a School for Modern Oriental Studies, and of the protests which that project aroused from University College and King's College, there was established a School for Modern Oriental Studies, under the joint control of the three bodies.[13] In all this a large part was played by Henry Morley.[14]

In conjunction with these developments there are to be noted the revival under the name of Comparative Philology

[1] *Abstracts*, iii, 1882–3, no. 58; *cf. Ann. Rept.*, 1880, 13, 1883, 13–4, 1886, 15, 1887, 17, 1897, 15–6; *University College, London. Indian School* [July, 1885].

[2] *The Times*, 28 Dec., 1922, 11 e.

[3] *Abstracts*, iii, 1882–3, no. 13; *Ann. Rept.*, 1883, 13.

[4] *Abstracts*, iii, 1882–3, nos. 95, 162; *Ann. Rept.*, 1884, 13.

[5] *Who was Who*, 1916. [6] *Ann. Rept.*, 1884, 13. [7] *Ibid.*, 1885, 13.

[8] *Abstracts*, iii, 1883–4, no. 60; *Ann. Rept.*, 1884, 13; *The Times*, 16 Jan., 1884, 9 f.

[9] *D.N.B.*, 2nd *Suppl.* [10] *Abstracts*, iv, 1886–7, no. 133.

[11] *Ann. Rept.*, 1896, 12. [12] *D.N.B.*, 2nd *Suppl.* [13] *Ann. Rept.*, 1890, 14.

[14] H. S. Solly: *The Life of Henry Morley*, 1898, 352.

of the chair of Comparative Grammar, vacant since the death of Key in 1875, to which in 1880 the Council appointed J. P. Postgate,[1] and the establishment of a lectureship in Indian History in 1897.[2]

In the session 1890–1 a series of free evening lectures was inaugurated, and in the following session evening classes were revived.[3] In 1892 the college established a department for the training of teachers. But after two years the experiment proved unsuccessful and was discontinued.[4]

In several other departments, where a new departure was much needed, changes were slow to come. The teaching of Modern Languages continued to be undistinguished, except by the lectures on the *Divina Commedia* delivered by Edward Moore [5] during his tenure of the lectureship founded under the will of H. C. Barlow in 1877.[6] The liberality of the Carpenters' Company made possible the addition of fresh classes in architecture and building construction,[7] but the effective development of the department had to await the new century. Economics met with some encouragement when in 1883 a fund raised in memory of William Newmarch [8] was transferred to the college. The stipendiary was to deliver in each year at least six lectures on political economy as illustrated by statistics.[9] Should the professor of Political Economy not himself deliver such a course in any year, there was for that year to be appointed a Newmarch Lecturer, and the endowment secured for the college the services of some notable economists. But apart from this there was no appreciable growth. Neither was there any in the allied department of History, for which an attempt to secure the services of S. R. Gardiner was unsuccessful.[10] The department of Law, although there were some notable appointments in it, was in much the same case. Frederick,

[1] *Ann. Rept.*, 1881, 14; S. G. Owen: *John Percival Postgate*, 1853–1926, 1927; *The Times*, 16 July, 1926, 17 f.

[2] *Ann. Rept.*, 1898, 12. [3] *Cal.*, 1891, xlv; *Ann. Rept.*, 1892, 17–8.

[4] *Ann. Rept.*, 1893, 14, 1895, 13, 1896, 13. [5] *D.N.B.*, 1912–21.

[6] *Ann. Rept.*, 1877, 12–3, 1878, 13; *Notes and Materials*, 30.

[7] *Ann. Rept.*, 1892, 18. [8] *D.N.B.*

[9] *Ann. Rept.*, 1884, 14. [10] *Abstracts*, v, 1892–3, nos. 10, 42.

now Sir Frederick, Pollock held the chair of Jurisprudence for one session, 1882–3,[1] before he went to Oxford as Corpus Professor. The chair of Constitutional Law and History was held in succession by J. W. Willis Bund,[2] T. P. Taswell-Langmead,[3] and T. E., now Lord Justice, Scrutton. In 1884 Professor A. F. Murison was elected to the chair of Roman Law,[4] and in 1894 the department was strengthened by the foundation of a chair of Comparative Law out of funds made over to the college by the trustees of Sir John Richard (Mr. Justice) Quain,[5] a chair which was held from 1896 to 1900 by Mr. Augustine Birrell.[6] But in the session 1890–1 Professor Henry was lecturing on Jurisprudence, Constitutional Law and History, and Indian Law, he had only one colleague, and there were only thirteen students attending classes in the department.[7]

While there were thus few new departures, and too many departments in the Faculty of Arts and Laws still lagged behind, in those which had already by 1880 notable achievements to their credit progress was maintained. The study of classics during the 'eighties had a rather troubled history. The tenure of the chair of Latin by A. J. Church[8] was, as he himself recognised, unsuccessful.[9] His colleague, Alfred Goodwin,[10] was greatly admired and looked up to by his students, but, appointed to the chair of Latin in 1876, he undertook as well the teaching of Greek in 1879–80, exchanged to the chair of Greek in 1880, and again combined that with the professorship of Latin from 1889 to 1892,[11] and the work suffered.[12] In the 'nineties, however, there was a notable recovery. For a brief period the chair of Greek was held by Professor W. Wyse; in 1894 he was followed

[1] *Ann. Rept.*, 1883, 12. [2] *The Times*, 9 Jan., 1928, 19 a–b.
[3] *D.N.B.* [4] *Ann. Rept.*, 1884, 13. [5] *Ibid.*, 1895, 12.
[6] *Ann. Rept.*, 1897, 13; *Abstracts*, vi, 1898–9, no. 200.
[7] *Abstracts*, iv, 6 Feb., 1892, p. 5.
[8] *Who was Who*, 1916.
[9] A. J. Church: *Memories of Men and Books*, 1908, 161–2; *Abstracts*, iv, 1886–7, nos. 139, 150, 173.
[10] *The Times*, 10 Feb., 1892, 10 e; *Notes and Materials*, 19–22.
[11] *Ann. Rept.*, 1877, 12, 1880, 11, 1890, 13.
[12] A. J. Platt: Greek [MS. in the college library], f. 2.

by A. J. Platt;[1] while Professor A. E. Housman had already succeeded in 1892 to the chair of Latin. To this prosperity in the department of classics must be added the good fortune of that of English. To Henry Morley's chair, which had lately been endowed under the will of Richard Quain,[2] there was elected in 1889 W. P. Ker.[3]

In Ker, Housman, and Platt the college had a trio not exceeded by any group in its history in reputation or in its affections. Ker stayed for thirty-three years, Housman for nineteen, Platt until his death at the end of thirty-one. For seventeen years they were together.

The names of three other recruits to the Faculty of Arts and Laws during this period also stand out. They are those of James Sully,[4] Alphonse Legros,[5] and Frederick Brown.

James Sully succeeded to Croom Robertson as Grote Professor of Philosophy of Mind and Logic in 1892.[6] The department of Philosophy during the 'eighties and 'nineties was small, and it received little encouragement from the regulations made by the university.[7] But it retained under Sully the distinction which it had enjoyed under his predecessor. His own main interest was in psychology, and through his initiative there was opened in 1897 a laboratory for Experimental Psychology,[8] placed at first under the direction of W. H. R. Rivers.[9]

[1] *The Times*, 17 March, 1925, 17 f; A. J. Platt: *Nine Essays, with a Preface by A. E. Housman*, 1927; *University College Magazine*, iii, 1923–5, 192, 258–60.

[2] *Ann. Rept.*, 1888, 13–4, 1889, 13–4, 1890, 13; *Notes*, 190.

[3] *Ann. Rept.*, 1890, 12; *The Times*, 20 July, 1923, 14 b, 23 July, 1923, 14 b, 25 July, 1923, 8 d; *The Times Literary Supplement*, 1923, 525–6; R. W. Chambers: *W. P. Ker*, 1855–1923; *Recollections of W. P. Ker*. By Two Friends, Glasgow, 1924; *Union Magazine*, vi, 1914–5, 135–6; *University College Magazine*, ii, 1921–3, 273–7; W. P. Ker: *Form and Style in Poetry: Lectures and Notes*. Edited by R. W. Chambers, 1928, pp. i–x.

[4] *The Times*, 3 Nov., 1923, 14 d; J. Sully: *My Life and Friends. A Psychologist's Memories*, 1918.

[5] *D.N.B.*; L. Bénédite: *Alphonse Legros*, Paris, 1900.

[6] *Ann. Rept.*, 1893, 13.

[7] J. Sully: *My Life and Friends . . .*, 1918, 235; *Philosophical Remains of George Croom Robertson*. Edited by A. Bain . . . and T. Whittaker, 1894, 179–80, 182–3.

[8] *Ann. Rept.*, 1899, 17.

[9] *The Times*, 5 June, 1922, 12 b, 7 June, 1922, 5 b.

With the names of Legros and Brown is associated a period of great celebrity in the history of the Slade. Faced with starvation in Paris, Legros came to London in 1863 at the suggestion of Whistler, and succeeded Poynter as professor of Fine Art in 1876.[1] He was in his turn succeeded by Frederick Brown in 1892.[2] Under their direction the School acquired an importance incomparably greater than it had had before. "*Une personnalité très complexe, à la fois solidement rattachée au passé et cependant très moderne, mais formée, semble-t-il, à l'écart des courants contemporains*,"[3] retaining throughout the closest touch with his native country, never learning, in spite of his long residence in London and his marriage to an Englishwoman, to speak the English language, Legros brought to the school something of that scholarship which Ker, and Housman, and Platt brought to other departments. With Brown, it has been said, the school took a second lease of life.[4] He came to the college from the Westminster School of Art, which he had raised from insignificance to the first rank. He retained the chair for twenty-six years. Under his rule the study of sculpture was added to the activities of the school in 1893.[5] It has been claimed that he revolutionised the methods of art teaching in this country and that the best modern painting in England is largely an outcome of his influence as a teacher.[6] Among the pupils of Legros were W. Strang, D. S. MacColl, T. C. Gotch, Charles Holroyd, W. R. Sickert, C. W. Furse, and W. Rothenstein. During the first eight years of Brown's tenure there entered Ethel Walker, Ambrose A. McEvoy, Augustus E. John, Gwen John, Albert D. Rothenstein, W. N. M. Orpen, P. Wyndham Lewis, and Anna Airy.[7]

[1] *Ann. Rept.*, 1877, 12. [2] *Ibid.*, 1893, 13.

[3] L. Bénédite: *Alphonse Legros*, Paris, 1900, 2.

[4] *The Slade, MDCCCXCIII–MDCCCCVII*, 1907, 9.

[5] *Cal.*, 1893, 79; *cf. The Times*, 5 Oct., 1878, 5 f, 7 Oct., 1878, 8 a.

[6] The Slade School [MS. in the college library], f. 11; *cf. Notes*, 45–6, 109, 139–40; *The Slade, MDCCCXCIII–MDCCCCVII*, 1907; C. Aikin: *The Slade School of Fine Arts* in *Apollo*, iii, 1926, 1–13; *University College, London, Centenary Celebrations*, 1927. *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Works of Art by Teachers and Students of the Slade School*, 1871–1927.

[7] *Cal.*, 1880–1900, *passim*.

In the Faculty of Science also, while there were some notable developments, of which the most conspicuous was the extension of experimental methods to the study of Zoology and of Botany, the greater part of the more important work was done in those departments which had already acquired a secure position.

Geology received an endowment under the Yates bequest in 1885,[1] but the department under T. G. Bonney[2] remained small. In the department of Physics there was a conspicuous growth of laboratory equipment and accommodation, secured partly by the erection of the Carey Foster Laboratory, and partly by the occupation of rooms vacated by Engineering.[3] But the leadership in the Faculty of Science was retained by the departments of Mathematics, Physiology, Chemistry, and Engineering.

In the department of Mathematics the period brought the appointment of Professor Karl Pearson and Professor M. J. M. Hill.[4] Of the latter it was said that by his death the college lost one of the most commanding personalities among its members. No one who sat with him on the many boards and committees concerned with university and college administration could forget the power of his influence, and yet, it was added, he never allowed the administrator or the teacher to eclipse the scholar.[5]

In Physiology under Professor E. A. Schäfer there was an ever-increasing output of original work,[6] and in 1881 the department obtained new and enlarged quarters on the top

[1] *Ann. Rept.*, 1885, 14.

[2] *The Times*, 11 Dec., 1923, 16 e; T. G. Bonney: *Memories of a Long Life*, Camb., 1921; *Report of the Meeting held for the Presentation to Professor Bonney . . . of his Portrait . . .* [1895]; *Notes and Materials*, 91–2; *The Geological Magazine*, lxi, 1924, 48–51.

[3] *Ann. Rept.*, 1887, 15–6, 1889, 14–5, 1890, 15, 1893, 14, 1894, 14; *Notes and Materials*, 68–9.

[4] *Ann. Rept.*, 1885, 13.

[5] *The Times*, 14 Jan., 1929, 17 c, *cf.* 12 Jan., 1929, 14 b, 16 Jan., 8 d–e, 18 Jan., 8 a, 26 Feb., 2 d.

[6] E. H. Starling: The Department of Physiology [Typescript in the college library], f. 6.

floor of the new North wing.[1] In the field of chemical studies the college was made illustrious by the tenure of the chair of Chemistry by Sir William Ramsay[2] from 1887 to 1913.[3] It was within the walls of the college that his greatest work was done.[4]

In the department of Engineering the period was one of great activity and rapid expansion. In 1882 there was established a professorship of Civil Engineering and Surveying, and L. F. Vernon-Harcourt[5] was elected to the chair.[6] In the session 1884–5, at the suggestion of Carey Foster, Dr., now Sir, J. A. Fleming was invited to deliver a course of lectures on Electro-Technology, and in the following year there was founded a chair of Electrical Technology, to which Dr. Fleming was appointed.[7] In 1897 the trustees of Sir Edwin Chadwick established a chair of Municipal Engineering, to which O. Chadwick[8] was elected in order to organise and develop the work of the department in accordance with the object of the trustees, and with power to appoint lecturers under his direction.[9] Such an increase in activity necessitated a corresponding increase in equipment and accommodation. The department obtained additional space in 1881 in rooms vacated in consequence of the removal of other departments to the new North wing.[10] From time to time it received valuable gifts of apparatus.[11] The new engineering

[1] *An Account of the New North Wing and Recent Additions to University College, London, opened February 16th, 1881, by the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Kimberley*, 9–10; *Sir John Burdon Sanderson. A Memoir by the late Lady Burdon Sanderson, completed and edited by his Nephew and Niece, with a Selection from his Papers and Addresses*, Oxford, 1911, 96.

[2] *D.N.B.*, 1912–21; W. A. Tilden: *Sir William Ramsay*, 1918.

[3] *Ann. Rept.*, 1888, 13, 1912, 34, 1913, 47; *Cal.*, 1913, cii.

[4] *Cf. Obituary Notice of Sir William Ramsay*, 1852–1916, from the *Proceedings of the Royal Society*, 1917; Professor J. Norman Collie: *A Century of Chemistry at University College*, 1927, 18–22, 25–6; W. A. Tilden: *Sir William Ramsay*, 1918, cc. v–vi.

[5] *D.N.B., 2nd Suppl.*

[6] *Ann. Rept.*, 1883, 13.

[7] *Ibid.*, 1885, 14, 1886, 13.

[8] *The Times*, 3 Oct., 1913, 9 c.

[9] *Ann. Rept.*, 1898, 11–2, 1899, 16; *Abstracts*, vi, 1896–7, no. 162.

[10] *An Account of the New North Wing and Recent Additions to University College, London, opened February 16th, 1881, by the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Kimberley*, 13–5.

[11] *Ann. Rept.*, 1883, 13, 1886, 14, 1887, 15, 1888, 15.

laboratories were built in 1893.[1] In the following year the London County Council began to make an annual grant in support of technical education, the greater part of which went to the department.[2] In 1896 the new department of electrical engineering received an endowment as a memorial to Sir John Pender, and the chair became the Pender chair and the Electrical Laboratory, the Pender Laboratory.[3]

To these achievements is to be added the work of the department of Zoology and the reorganisation of the department of Botany.

The professorship of Zoology and Comparative Anatomy was held during the period by E. Ray Lankester and W. F. R. Weldon,[4] each of whom in turn migrated to Oxford. Of their work Professor D. M. S. Watson writes :

" During the tenure of the chair by Ray Lankester, University College possessed by far the most active school of Zoology in Britain, Cambridge being the only possible competitor. The work done in it was very largely published in the *Quarterly Journal of Microscopical Science*, the most important British zoological publication, which owes its prestige to the fact that Lankester was its editor for some fifty years. Whilst at University College Lankester trained a great series of zoologists who filled very many of the chairs in that subject, both at home and in the Dominions, and he thus influenced the whole course of zoology in the British Empire ; indeed it is only since the war that any material changes have been made in the character of the teaching in these places, a character derived directly from Lankester's courses at the college.

Lankester was responsible for the establishment of the Marine Biological Association with its laboratory at Plymouth, which has now become one of the most important centres of research in the world under the direction of Dr. E. J. Allen, an old student of the Zoological department.

Very soon after his appointment Lankester introduced practical work into the zoology course, for the first time in a British university, except for the pioneer experiment of Huxley's in which Lankester had played a part.

[1] *An Account of the new Engineering and Electrical Laboratories in University College, London, opened . . . on the 29th May*, 1893 ; *The Times*, 30 May, 1893, 8 a–b ; *The Pender Electrical Laboratory in University College, London*, in *The Electrician*, lviii, 1906–7, 242–5.

[2] *Ann. Rept.*, 1895, 14, *cf.* 1896, 13.

[3] *Ibid.*, 1897, 14.

[4] *D.N.B.*, *2nd Suppl.*

The success of these practical classes soon made it necessary to appoint a laboratory attendant who could collect materials and cut sections and look after microscopes and other apparatus. Mr. H. Jessop was appointed to this post in September 1879, and from his experiences the mode for running a Zoological department which now obtains in all British universities was gradually built up. Mr. Jessop still holds the position of Laboratory Steward in the department.

Weldon was a morphologist essentially of Lankester's school, but after he came to the college he became impressed with the necessity of introducing quantitative methods into Zoology, and in association with Francis Galton and Karl Pearson established the new science of Biometrics, devoted to a statistical study of animals. Weldon's own work may be shortly described as biometrical morphology, and was designed to test the efficiency of natural selection as an evolutionary agent. He founded a school which was very active during the period before his transference to Oxford and his early death, but since his time the science has lost touch with the majority of active zoologists and has passed over to a considerable extent to human problems." [1]

During the 'eighties and 'nineties the study of Botany in the college was revolutionised by the institution of laboratory work and by the endowment of the chair under the Quain bequest.

"During the first fifty years," writes Professor F. W. Oliver, "there existed here no department of Botany in the modern sense. The professor only delivered his lectures and departed; but for the accident that, here and there, the seed fell on good ground, the progress of the subject was not directly advanced. The professor held his college post primarily as an additional source of income, and there were no facilities for developing the science within the precincts. There were few positions of emolument open to a botanist, and of the deliberate training of advanced and postgraduate students, there was none." [2]

In 1880 the university imposed practical tests in its various examinations in Botany, and the college was enabled by the extension of its buildings to provide the department with a laboratory in the room in the North cloister vacated by

[1] Professor D. M. S. Watson to the author. [Typescript in the college library.]

[2] Professor F. W. Oliver: Botany [MS. in the college library], pt. ii, f. 1; *cf. Ann. Rept.*, 1910, 37.

Physiology.[1] In 1889 further accommodation was acquired in the Birkbeck Laboratory.[2] In 1889 F. W. Oliver, who had succeeded his father in 1888 with the title of Lecturer, was appointed Quain Lecturer, and in 1890 became Quain Professor.[3] With the new endowment the appointment became a full-time post. The development of laboratory work brought to the department the assistance of such teachers as F. O. Bower, afterwards professor of Botany at Glasgow, and Dr. D. H. Scott, while the Quain Studentship established in 1890 was held in turn by F. E. Weiss and A. G. Tansley, and the services of other botanists of note were enlisted in the delivery of additional courses of lectures on special subjects. A period of great activity began, and before the end of the century the department had outgrown the accommodation provided for it.[4]

In the history of the medical school the year 1880 divides those who had made it famous in the 'sixties and 'seventies from a younger generation. Marshall, who was a contemporary of that group which reached professorial rank in the late 'forties and early 'fifties, remained until 1885,[5] but Viner Ellis and Erichsen went in 1877, Jenner in 1879, and Wharton Jones in 1881.[6] And while, of the recruits who had joined in the 'sixties, Wilson Fox stayed until 1887, Henry Thompson until 1891, Bastian until 1898, and Ringer until 1900, J. R. Reynolds had gone in 1878 and Henry Maudsley in 1879.[7] In their places there attained to professorial rank between 1875 and 1883 Christopher Heath, M. Berkeley Hill, G. D. Thane, F. T. Roberts, G. V. Poore, J. Tweedy, and Marcus Beck.[8] To these between 1887 and 1896 were added Victor A. H. Horsley, W. R. Gowers,

[1] *Cal.*, 1880, plan. [2] *Ibid.*, 1891, 14.

[3] *Ann. Rept.*, 1889, 13, 1890, 13, 1891, 12.

[4] Professor F. W. Oliver: Botany [MS. in the college library], pt. ii; *Ann. Rept.*, 1898, 14; *cf. ibid.*, 1910, 37–9.

[5] *Ann. Rept.*, 1886, 13. [6] *Ibid.*, 1878, 12, 1880, 11, 1882, 13.

[7] *Ibid.*, 1888, 13, 1898, 12, 1900, 11, 1879, 13, 1880, 11.

[8] *Ibid.*, 1876, 19, 1878, 12, 1879, 13, 1880, 11, 1882, 13, 1884, 13; for Heath, Roberts, Tweedy, and Beck, see *The Times*, 9 Aug., 1905, 8 d, 29 July, 1918, 9 e, 7 Jan., 1924, 14 c, 25 May, 1893, 10 e; for Hill, *Lancet*, 1892, i, 171–2; for Poore, *D.N.B.*, *2nd Suppl.*

R. J. Godlee, Thomas Barlow, J. Rose Bradford, S. H. C. Martin, and Vaughan Harley.[1] The most notable achievement of the period was the development of experimental pathology by Horsley, and in 1896 there was established in the Faculty of Science a new chair of Pathological Chemistry.[2]

In 1888 a house at Longcross, Surrey, was left to the college for use as a convalescent home.[3] The re-building of the hospital was begun in 1897 and completed in 1905.[4]

iv. Student Activities

During the last two decades of the nineteenth century social life among the students developed as never before, and in consequence of the building operations of 1878 to 1881 the college was able to afford better provision for it. In 1880 a Men's Common Room was provided in what is now the Professors' Smoking Room; the Reading-Room Society, hitherto housed in the basement below what is now the General Library, inherited the old Jodrell Laboratory; and the Medical Society, while retaining the Medical Library, exchanged its second room in the basement, next to the old Reading-Room, for two rooms vacated by the Slade and by Chemistry.[5] In 1897 there was instituted an annual celebration of the foundation of the college, taking the form of a 'Foundation Week,' of which the principal event was the Foundation Oration.[6] At the same time the principal student societies continued to flourish and many new ones came into existence. The Medical Society[7] and the Debat-

[1] *Ann. Rept.*, 1888, 13, 14, 1894, 13, 1896, 11, 1897, 13; for Horsley and Gowers see *D.N.B.*, 1912–1921; for Godlee, *The Times*, 21 Apr., 1925, 19 b, 23 Apr., 1925, 14 e; for Martin, *Lancet*, 1924, ii, 680–1; for Harley, *The Times*, 25 May, 1923, e.e. 14 c; Mrs. Alec Tweedy: *George Harley, F.R.S., The Life of a London Physician*, 1899, 335–6.

[2] S. Paget: *Sir Victor Horsley*, 1919, 159–60, 279–80; *Ann. Rept.*, 1897, 13, 1908, 25.

[3] *Ann. Rept.*, 1889, 17; *Notes*, 175–7.

[4] *Ann. Rept.*, 1895, 17, 1896, 16, 1897, 18, 1898, 17, 1899, 20, 1900, 16, 1901, 29, 1902, 39, 1903, 44, 1904, 49, 1905, 54, 1906, 31–2, 1906 (Dec.), 32; *University College Gazette*, ii, 1898–1901, 3–5.

[5] *Ann. Rept.*, 1881, 15; *Notes*, 19, 90, 182; *Cal.*, 1880, plan.

[6] *Ann. Rept.*, 1898, 15; *University College Gazette*, ii, 1898–1901, 194–5.

[7] *Notes*, 182.

ing Society[1] were active, and the latter by effecting a junction with the Debating Society of University Hall became for a time the University College and Hall Union Debating Society,[2] and as such took part in an annual inter-collegiate debate with the societies of other colleges in London.[3] The Chemical and Physical Society was prominent.[4] To the Students' Christian Association a women's branch was added.[5] A Classical Society appeared in 1879, which lasted until 1883.[6] The Musical Society was revived from 1882 to 1896.[7] An Engineering Society was founded in 1884.[8] A Shakespeare Reading Society, originally formed in 1876 by a few of Morley's pupils, was formally constituted a college society in 1885.[9] A Literary Society,[10] a Women's Reading-Room Society,[11] and a Biological Society[12] were added in 1886, the last disappearing after 1896.[13] A Working Boys' Club was started in 1887, and lasted in one form or another until 1896.[14] A Women's Social Discussion Society lasted from 1887 to 1890 and reappeared in 1895 as the Women's Social Discussion and Debating Society.[15] There was a French Society from 1888 to 1890,[16] and a Photographic Society from 1889,[17] and a Chess Club appeared in 1896.[18]

Of more account, however, than these special clubs, were the efforts made to develop a more general corporate life

[1] *Notes*, 20, 34–5, 52–3, 73, 79, 84–7, 89–90, 100–1, 116–7, 137, 195–7.
[2] *Ibid.*, 20. [3] *Ibid.*, 114–5.
[4] *Ibid.*, 23, 39–40, 71–2, 84, 119, 135, 146–50. [5] *Ibid.*, 119–20, 141.
[6] *Cal.*, 1880, 269, *cf.* 1882, *ibid.*, 1883, 278; *Abstracts*, iii, 1882–3, 13 Jan., App.
[7] *Ann. Rept.*, 1883, 14; *Cal.*, 1882, 269; *Notes*, 23, 84, 141, 182, 197; *Cal.*, 1895, 349, *cf.* 1896, 371.
[8] *Cal.*, 1884, 279; *Notes*, 22–3; Engineering Society [MS. in the college library]. [9] *Notes*, 74, 90, 104.
[10] *Cal.*, 1887, 288; *Notes*, 42, 56–7, 73, 82–4, 103–4, 117–9, 140, 198.
[11] *Cal.*, 1886, 297, 1883, plan; *Notes*, 47.
[12] *Cal.*, 1887, 288; *Notes*, 55, 73, 82, 101–3, 117, 140–1, 197.
[13] *Cf. Cal.*, 1895, 348, 1896, 370.
[14] *Notes*, 194–5; *Cal.*, 1889, 292, 1893, 353, 1895, 349, *cf.* 1896, 371.
[15] *Cal.*, 1889, 292, 1890, 296, 1891, 303, 1893, 353.
[16] *Ibid.*, 1888, 286, 1890, 296, *cf.* 1891, 303.
[17] *Ibid.*, 1889, 292, 1890, 296, 1891, 303, 1893, 353.
[18] *Ibid.*, 1897, 353; Chess Club [MS. in the college library].

among the students. In 1879 the Old Boys of University College School formed what they called the Paulatim Club. In 1882 the club took a house in Fitzroy Square, and admission being granted to friends of members a large number of University College students joined.[1] In 1884 there was founded, under the leadership of Henry Morley, the University College Society. It was open to governors, teachers, and students, past and present. Its aim was to further, in any way which it found possible, the social life of the college. It supported the various existing clubs ; it arranged periodical evening assemblies ; it undertook to furnish the Men's Common-Room ; it laid out tennis courts where there had previously been only gravel in the south quadrangle ; it founded and ran the *University College Gazette*.[2] On Morley's departure the Society gave place to the Old Students' Association, founded in 1890,[3] and to the Union, for which it had prepared the way, and which was formed in 1893. While the function of the Union was very much the same as that of the University College Society, it was distinguished by the fact that it included within its scope the athletic clubs of the college.[4] With its foundation the old Reading-Room Society disappeared, and its rooms were transferred to the new institution.[5] In 1897 a Women's Union Society was established, which absorbed the Women's Reading-Room Society and the Women's Debating Society.[6]

To university journalism the college contributed during this period, besides the *University College, London, Gazette*, the *Privateer*, conducted by Mr. E. V. Lucas, which ran for eleven numbers in the session 1892–3, and the *University College Gazette*, which was launched in November, 1895,

[1] *Notes*, 49–50.

[2] *Ann. Rept.*, 1885, 15 ; *Cal.*, 1884, 279 ; *Notes*, 18–9, 24, 44–5, 73–4, 77–9, 81, 123, 140, 182, 190–1, 193 ; *Cal.*, 1889, 292, *cf.* 1890, 296.

[3] *Cal.*, 1890, 296, *cf.* 1891, 303 ; *Ann. Rept.*, 1911, 20.

[4] *Ann. Rept.*, 1894, 15 ; *Cal.*, 1893, 352–3 ; *Note on the Union Society* in *University of London, University College, Union Society. Souvenir Menu of the Twenty-First Anniversary Celebration Dinner . . .* 1914.

[5] *Notes*, 19–20, 90 ; *Cal.*, 1892, 316, *cf.* 1893, 352.

[6] *Cal.*, 1898, 44 ; *cf.* 1897, 353.

and is the direct ancestor of the present *University College Magazine*.[1]

Most significant of all, however, in the student life of the period, was the growth of athletics, and not least important, as Sir Henry Miers has suggested, was the fact that all this activity was organised by the students themselves.[2]

Apart from a Cycling Club, which appears in 1889,[3] there is no recognition in the *Calendar* of any athletic activity until 1893, and the College had no athletic ground. In 1886 there existed an Athletic Club proper, and Cricket, Football, Lawn Tennis, and Racquet Clubs,[4] and an Association Football Club was formed in that year.[5] The Racquet Club dated from 1864, the Athletic Club from 1869. The Lawn Tennis Club was an outcome of the University College Society. The origin of the Cricket and Rugby Football Clubs is obscure. An Athletics Association was formed in 1886 in view of the possible purchase of a ground and the union of the existing clubs.[6] The realisation of the project of securing a ground had to wait until 1897,[7] and meanwhile football was played on Primrose Hill and cricket in Regent's Park. But the common organisation of the athletic clubs was realised when the Union was founded in 1893.[8] To the clubs already active in the 'eighties there was added a Boxing and Gymnastic Club in 1892,[9] and a Swimming Club in 1894.[10] The women had a Hockey Club and a Tennis Club at the time of the formation of their Union in 1897.[11]

[1] J. A. Hawgood: *University College and its Magazines* in *University College Magazine, Centenary Number*, June, 1927.

[2] H. A. Miers: *Oration entitled The Revival of Learning*, 1909, 5.

[3] *Cal.*, 1889, 292.

[4] *Notes*, 7. [5] *Ibid.*, 52. [6] *Ibid.*, 7–8, 10–1, 24, 29–30.

[7] *Cf. Ann. Rept.*, 1887, 17; *University College Gazette*, i, 1895–8, 26; *Ann. Rept.*, 1898, 14–5, 1899, 15.

[8] *Cal.*, 1893, 353.

[9] Union Society Boxing and Gymnastic Clubs [MS. in the college library].

[10] *Cal.*, 1894, 354.

[11] Women's Union Society, Athletic Union. Hockey Club; *ibid.*, Lawn Tennis Club [MSS. in the college library].

To this progress in the common life of the students there was one setback. On the removal of Manchester New College to Oxford in 1889, the building which had housed both it and University Hall was sold to the Trustees of Dr. Williams' Library, and the college lost its men's hall of residence, which had developed greatly under Henry Morley.[1]

[1] *Ann. Rept.*, 1890, 14; *Abstracts*, iv, 1888–9, nos. 164, 205; J. Drummond and C. B. Upton: *The Life and Letters of James Martineau*, 2 v., 1902, ii, 148–54; H. S. Solly: *The Life of Henry Morley*, 1898, 340–51, 372–5; *Notes*, 184.

CHAPTER XII

THE LAST QUARTER OF THE FIRST CENTURY

The last quarter of the first century in the history of the college has been a period of very rapid development and great complexity. In the world at large change has been unusually swift. In the narrow sphere of academic life the relation of the college to the university has been profoundly modified, the college itself has experienced some far-reaching alterations in its own organisation, and there has been an increase in size which in many ways has made it less like the college of 1900 than the college of 1900 was like that of 1828. At the same time, both in the world at large and within the university, the whole situation has been infinitely complicated by the catastrophe of 1914–1918.

The number of students in the college during the session 1900–1901 was 1098, of whom 397 were women. During the session 1925–6 it was 2426, of whom 1074 were women, or, counting the evening and vacation students, 3228, of whom 1473 were women.[1] The teaching staff, which numbered 125 in 1900–1901, had by the session 1925–6 increased to 255, when the college had shed its School of Oriental Studies and no longer counted among its teachers the staff of the hospital.[2]

But notable as the change has been, counted in mere numbers, that is not the whole of the story. There has been a great alteration also in the aims of this larger body of students. The number from the college who took their bachelor's degree at the University of London in 1900 was 37; in 1925 it was 216, exclusive of 28 who did the work for the final stages of their course at University College

[1] *Cal.*, 1901, 431, 1926, 475.

[2] *Reports from University Colleges participating in the Grant of £25,000 made by Parliament for University Colleges in Great Britain*, 1902–3, [Cd. 1510], 83. H. of C., 1902–3, XX, 573; *Cal.*, 1925.

Hospital Medical School.[1] The significance of these facts is that the college has become an integral part of the university, with which in 1899 it had no more connection than a college in Jamaica or Ceylon.

The reorganisation begun in 1900 under the statutes framed by the Commissioners under the University of London Act of 1898 was continued by the University College, London (Transfer) Act of 1905. The college had proposed in 1898 to place its site, land, buildings and endowments at the complete disposal of the reconstituted university, in the belief that the intention of the founders and benefactors of the college could only be fulfilled by the incorporation of the college in the university. By the action of the Drapers' Company in making themselves responsible for the debt of the college to the extent of £30,000, the realisation of that intention was greatly facilitated, and by 1905 the Council and the Senate of the university had agreed upon a bill to give effect to the plan, which came into operation on the 1st of January, 1907.[2]

The effect of the Acts of 1898 and 1905 was far-reaching. The establishment of the 'internal side' of the university, which was first in full working order in the session 1902–3, freed the teaching from the necessity of conforming to examination schedules made by a Senate which had no Boards of Study to advise it, and enabled the student to study his subject instead of studying his examiner.[3] The provision that graduates of other universities might be admitted as Internal Students to work for the higher degrees of the university stimulated post-graduate and research work, so that the number of post-graduate students rose from 24 in the session

[1] *Ann. Rept.*, 1901, 18, 1926, 45.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1902, 14–7, 1903, 18–9, 1904, 22, 1905, 21, 1906, 19, 1906 (Dec.), 20–1, 1908, 25–7; *Council-Senate Commemoration Dinner, Dec. 31st*, 1906; *May 12th*, 1911. *University of London. Memorandum for presentation to the Royal Commission on University Education in London by the Professorial Board of University of London, University College*, 23–6; *University of London, University College. Reply by the College Committee to the Enquiry of the Departmental Committee transmitted by the Vice-Chancellor in a Letter dated 21st November*, 1924. *With Appendices.*

[3] *Cf. Ann. Rept.*, 1904, 21.

1903–4 to 515 in the session 1925–6.[1] The association of the several centres of higher education in London in a single university made possible a partial concentration of the preliminary and intermediate medical studies at University and King's Colleges[2] and facilitated the development of intercollegiate lectures, tentatively begun in 1889.[3] In consequence of the Act of 1905 the chairs, the holders of which received an adequate stipend, were created chairs of the university,[4] and reality was thus given to that power to teach and to direct research secured to the university by the Act of 1898, with the result that it became possible to do much towards unifying the scattered elements of which the teaching side was composed, and that since that date there has been a further and extensive multiplication of public lectures,[5] and of advanced and post-graduate courses open to all members of the university.[6] At the same time the structure of the college itself was modified. By the Act of 1905 the college ceased to be an independent corporation, and transferred all that it possessed, except what belonged to the School of Advanced Medical Studies and to University College School, to the university, in the belief that only by such incorporation could the ideal of a teaching university be fully realised. In consequence in 1907 the Council became the College Committee, and the Professorial Board, with a constitution which granted membership to other teachers besides the professors, took the place of the college Senate, while the college itself acquired the confusing and rather cumbrous title of 'University of London: University College,'[7] and in so doing parted with the Hospital and with the Boys' School. The School, clearly, could not become a part of the university. It was created a separate corporation, and moved away in 1907 to new buildings in Hampstead.[8] At the same time the Hospital

[1] *Ann. Rept.*, 1903, 18, 1904, 21–2; *Cal.*, 1926, 462.

[2] *Ann. Rept.*, 1906, 19–20, 1906 (Dec.), 21.

[3] *Ibid.*, 1890, 14, 1897, 13, 1901, 26, 1902, 36, 1903, 18, 1904, 22, 1905, 21, 1906, 20, 1906 (Dec.), 21, 1908, 24, 28, 1909, 33, 1912, 32, 1913, 12, 47, 1914, 43, 47.

[4] *Ibid.*, 1908, 25–6.

[5] *Ibid.*, 1908+

[6] *Ibid.*, 1908, 24, 28, 1909, 33, 35, 36, 1910, 47, 49, 1911, 32, 34, 1912, 32, 40.

[7] *Ibid.*, 1906 (Dec.), 20–1.

[8] *Ibid.*, 1908, 26.

was also made a separate corporation and a school of advanced, or clinical, studies under the name of 'University College Hospital Medical School,' with the effect that the preliminary and intermediate medical sciences and the two post-graduate departments of Hygiene and Public Health and of Pathological Chemistry, which remained with the college, were separated from the more professional medical studies.[1]

In conjunction with these changes in the constitution of the college occurred a rapid development of the several departments and a notable revival of evening classes in the departments of History and Geography.

In the Faculty of Science the growth of the department of Chemistry, which was reorganised in 1902, when a separate chair of Organic Chemistry was established,[2] stands out conspicuously. In the department of Applied Mathematics two important advances were made by the organisation of the study of statistics, and by the starting of the practical study of astronomy, hitherto treated as a purely theoretical subject, for which purpose the two observatories in the Quadrangle were built in 1905–6.[3] There followed the foundation in 1911 of the Galton chair of Eugenics and of a separate department of Applied Statistics, and the reorganisation of that of Applied Mathematics, when the teaching of Graphics was separated from Applied Mathematics and the attention of that department was concentrated upon Mechanics and Astronomy.[4] Hampered at first by lack of room and then interrupted by the war, the development was resumed in 1919, when more adequate laboratory accommodation was procured and experimental work was begun,[5] and was carried further by the reorganisation of the astronomical work in 1921.[6] The professorship of Geology became a full-time chair in 1908.[7] The department of Botany grew rapidly during the period and became much

[1] *Ann. Rept.*, 1906 (Dec.), 27–8. [2] *Ibid.*, 1903, 23, *cf.* 1904, 26.

[3] *Ibid.*, 1904, 26, 1905, 28, 29, 1906, 23, 26, 1906 (Dec.), 23.

[4] *Ibid.*, 1912, 34, 1914, 47; Professor L. N. G. Filon: Notes for the History of the Department of Applied Mathematics [MS. preserved in the department], ff. 7–9. [5] Professor L. N. G. Filon, *loc. cit.*, ff. 9–10.

[6] *Ibid.*, ff. 10–1. [7] *Ann. Rept.*, 1909, 35.

more complex and highly specialised, and annual expeditions for field work, first to Norfolk and then to Brittany, led in 1910 to the establishment of a maritime ecological station on Blakeney Point, in Norfolk.[1] A new department of the History and Method of Science was established in 1922.[2] In 1908 Engineering was separated from the Faculty of Science and constituted a separate Faculty of Engineering.[3] The separate professorship of Civil Engineering and Surveying was allowed to lapse on the resignation of Vernon-Harcourt in 1905, and was combined with the chair of Mechanical Engineering in 1914.[4] A new chair of Chemical Engineering was established in 1923.[5]

In consequence of incorporation in the university in 1907 medical studies were reorganised. The Faculty of Medicine was divided into the Faculty of Medical Sciences and the Faculty of Advanced Medical Studies. The latter became the University College Hospital Medical School.[6] The former included the preliminary medical sciences, Physics, Chemistry, Botany, and Zoology, the intermediate medical sciences, Anatomy, Physiology, and Pharmacology, and the two post-graduate departments of Hygiene and Public Health and of Pathological Chemistry.[7] The history of the Faculty is dominated by the physiological work of E. H. Starling[8] and Sir William Bayliss,[9] and the realisation of Starling's project for the creation of an institute of Medical

[1] *Ann. Rept.*, 1906, 27, 1908, 30, 1912, 40, 1913, 46–7, 1914, 48, 1915, 43–4; Professor F. W. Oliver: History of University College, London, Department of Botany [Typescript in the college library], ii, ff. 7–10; *Norfolk and Norwich Naturalist's Society. Souvenir of the Presentation to the National Trust of Scolt Head Island, June 11th*, 1923.

[2] *Ann. Rept.*, 1923, 56.

[3] *Ibid.*, 1909, 31.

[4] *Ibid.*, 1906, 17, 1914, 51.

[5] *Ibid.*, 1924, 60.

[6] *Ibid.*, 1906 (Dec.), 28; Sir G. Blacker: History of University College Hospital Medical School from the date of Incorporation to 1927 [Typescript in the college library]; R. J. Godlee: *The Past, Present and Future of the School for Advanced Medical Studies of University College, London*, 1907.

[7] *Ann. Rept.*, 1906 (Dec.), 21, 27.

[8] *The Times*, 4 May, 1927, 18 b–c, 10 May, 1927, 21 b; *University College Magazine, Centenary Number*, June 1927, viii–x.

[9] *The Times*, 28 Aug., 1924, 12 d–e; *University College Magazine*, iii, 1923–5, 165–7; *University College Hospital Magazine*, ix, 1924, 211–3.

Sciences, which should include physiology, pharmacology, and anatomy. In 1905 the character of the work of the professor of Materia Medica was modified and the title of the chair was changed to that of Pharmacology and Materia Medica.[1] The new chair, to which the Council appointed A. R. Cushny,[2] was the first of its kind in this country, and a further advance was made when the Pharmacology section of the new Faculty of Medical Sciences was opened in 1912.[3] The chair of Pathological Chemistry was allowed to lapse on the resignation of Vaughan Harley in 1919, and the work was transferred to the Lecturer in Medical Chemistry in the department of Chemistry.[4] A lectureship in the History of Medicine was established in 1920, and a professorship of Embryology in 1921 and of Bio-Chemistry in 1922.[5]

The department of Law was throughout the period the source of some anxiety. Attention was called to its weakness by the Treasury Commissioners in 1902,[6] and there was no improvement until the establishment of a separate Faculty of Laws, with Sir John Macdonell as Dean, in 1908,[7] and the organisation by the heads of the three colleges of a Tripartite Laws Scheme as between University College, King's College, and the London School of Economics.[8] Between that date and 1926 there was steady, although slow, progress.[9]

The growth of the Faculty of Arts was observed early in the century as one of the most striking developments of the period.[10] The number of students who proceeded to the degree in Arts, which in 1900 was 8, had increased by 1925 to 85, exclusive of 9 in the then separate Faculty of Laws.[11]

[1] *Ann. Rept.*, 1904, 27, 1905, 29. [2] *The Times*, 26 Feb., 1926, 16 c.

[3] *Ann. Rept.*, 1912, 29, 1913, 32–3, 1919, 41 ; Sir Thomas Barlow : *Opening of the New Institute of Pharmacology*, 1912.

[4] *Ann. Rept.*, 1920, 37. [5] *Ibid.*, 1921, 41, 1922, 46, 1923, 57.

[6] *University Colleges* (*Great Britain*) (*Grant in Aid*). H. of C., 252 of 1902, 23–4. LXXX, 907.

[7] *Ann. Rept.*, 1909, 31 ; *D.N.B.*, 1912–1921 ; *Historical Trials*. By the late Sir John Macdonell. Edited by R. W. Lee. With a Preface by the Right Hon. Lord Shaw of Dunfermline, 1927. [8] *Ann. Rept.*, 1906, 24.

[9] *Ibid.*, 1906 (Dec.), 21, 25, 1908, 29, 1909, 34, 1910, 47, 1911, 32, 1912, 39, 1913, 45, 1914, 47, 1915, 43.

[10] *Ibid.*, 1904, 25, 1905, 27, 1908, 30. [11] *Ibid.*, 1901, 18, 1926, 45.

The revival, which had begun in the department of English, extended first to the study of Modern Languages. The appointment of Professor R. Priebsch to the chair of German in 1898, when the department was reorganised, and provision was made for the study of mediæval German language and literature, and seminar methods were introduced, marked the return to those activities proper to a university department which had been in abeyance since the tenure of the chair by von Mühlenfels; and in 1902 this development was carried a step further by the creation of a university chair of German and Germanic Philology, to which Professor Priebsch was appointed, and the common organisation of the study of German in the chief colleges of the university.[1] The appointment of A. J. Butler[2] to the chair of Italian, also in 1898, denoted a similar revival in that department, although the professorship was allowed to lapse on the death of Butler in 1910 and was only revived in 1917 with the aid of the London County Council[3]; and in the department of French a parallel advance was made with the election of Professor L. M. Brandin in 1901 and the transformation of the chair into a chair of French and Romance Philology in 1902.[4] Upon this revival in the established departments followed the initiation of fresh work. A department of Scandinavian Studies was founded in 1918[5]; a department of Dutch Studies, in co-operation with Bedford College, followed in 1919,[6] and was divided in 1923 into a department of Dutch History and Institutions and one of Dutch Language and Literature[7]; while, closely connected with the study of modern languages, was the foundation of a new department of Phonetics, which was one of the two developments in the Faculty of Arts to attract most contemporary attention. Begun as a sub-division of the study of modern languages and of English,

[1] *Ann. Rept.*, 1899, 12, 1903, 16, 23.

[2] *D.N.B., 2nd Suppl.*; Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch: *Memoir of Arthur John Butler*, 1917.

[3] *Ann. Rept.*, 1899, 12, 1911, 22, 1917, 37, 1918, 39, 1919, 34.

[4] *Ibid.*, 1902, 13, 1903, 16.

[5] *Ibid.*, 1917, 36, 1918, 39–40, 1919, 33–4, 40, 1920, 40.

[6] *Ibid.*, 1917, 36, 1918, 39, 1919, 39–40, 1920, 43, 1921, 39.

[7] *Ibid.*, 1924, 48, 58.

its creator and director, Professor Daniel Jones, was accorded the status of Reader in 1914, and of Professor in 1921.[1]

The other event in the Faculty of Arts which attracted contemporary notice was the growth of the department of History.[2] It was remarkable for the steady realisation of the programme laid down by Professor A. F. Pollard in 1904.[3] Attention was called to the weakness of the department in 1902,[4] but in that year the chair was endowed, and in 1903 by the separation of Constitutional History from Constitutional Law a second professor of History was secured.[5] From that date the *Annual Reports* record step by step the steady progress of the department.[6] A separate professorship of French History and Institutions was established in 1913.[7]

To these events must be added the revival of Geography, the resumption of the study of sculpture in the Slade School, the reorganisation of the department of Architecture, the removal of Oriental Studies from the college, and the creation of a School of Librarianship.

The study of Geography, which since the tentative efforts made during the first years in the history of the college had been confined to the work done in the department of Geology, was put upon an independent footing by the foundation of a chair of Economic Geography in 1902.[8] In the department of Fine Art the study of sculpture was revived in 1911,[9] and in 1914 J. Havard Thomas[10] was accorded the status of professor of Sculpture.[11] The activity of the School was very great and pressed hardly upon the

[1] *Ann. Rept.*, 1911, 31, 1912, 39, 1913, 44, 1914, 13, 44, 1915, 41, 1916, 35, 1917, 36, 1919, 40, 1920, 47–8, 1921, 47, 1922, 53.

[2] *Cf. ibid.*, 1915, 41.

[3] A. F. Pollard: *The University of London and the Study of History* (Oct., 1904) in *Factors in Modern History*, 1910.

[4] *University Colleges* (*Great Britain*) (*Grant in Aid*). H. of C., 252 of 1902, 23. LXXX, 907.

[5] *Ann. Rept.*, 1904, 17, 25.

[6] *Cf. Tudor Studies presented by the Board of Studies in History in the University of London to Albert Frederick Pollard . . .* Edited by R. W. Seton-Watson, 1924, v–vii; *The Times Literary Supplement*, 1924, 863.

[7] *Ann. Rept.*, 1914, 44.

[8] *Ibid.*, 1903, 16.

[9] *Ibid.*, 1912, 39, 28, 1916, 28, 1919, 40, 1920, 33, 45.

[10] *The Times*, 8 June, 1921, 14 f.

[11] *Ann. Rept.*, 1915, 35.

accommodation provided for it.[1] The reorganisation of the department of Architecture was carried out during the tenure of the chair by F. M. Simpson,[2] who was elected in 1903. Begun immediately upon his appointment, it was completed by the amalgamation of the architectural departments of King's College and University College in 1913 and the erection of the North-west wing to house the new School, made possible by the generosity of Sir Herbert Bartlett.[3] A department of Town Planning was added in 1914.[4] Oriental studies were removed from the province of the college on the establishment of the School of Oriental Studies in 1917.[5] The School of Librarianship was founded in 1919.[6]

Such activity and such an increase in numbers produced an urgent need for more room. It was met partly by the redistribution of accommodation, made possible by the removal of the Boys' School, and partly by building. Laboratory accommodation was already insufficient before the end of the century,[7] but not very much was accomplished until 1907. The Practical Chemistry classroom was enlarged in 1901, although the greater part of the cost had to be met by private subscriptions,[8] and the department gained a little more space by the removal of Pathological Chemistry in 1902,[9] and acquired two more rooms in 1905.[10] But accommodation remained very insufficient.[11] Physics obtained a little relief by the addition of a storey to the Carey Foster Laboratory in the same year.[12] In 1905, there began a period of renewed activity in building, which has continued almost without intermission ever since. In 1904 Sir Donald Currie gave £100,000 to provide quarters

[1] *Cf. Ann. Rept.*, 1914, 45–6, 1915, 31–2, 1920, 45; C. Aikin: *The Slade School of Fine Arts* in *Apollo*, iii, 1926, 1–13.

[2] *The Times*, 15 June, 1928, 21 b, 19 June, 1928, 21 b–c.

[3] *Ann. Rept.*, 1904, 27, 1905, 29, 1912, 27–9, 1913, 31–2, 1914, 33–4, 46, 1920, 44.

[4] *Ibid.*, 1914, 46, 1915, 31.

[5] *Ibid.*, 1906, 22, 1910, 46, 1911, 31, 1914, 45, 1915, 42, 1917, 34–5, 28.

[6] *Ibid.*, 1920, 43, *cf.* 33–4.

[7] *Ibid.*, 1898, 14, 1903, 20–1.

[8] *Ibid.*, 1901, 25–6, 1902, 7, 35.

[9] *Ibid.*, 1903, 23.

[10] *Ibid.*, 1906, 11, 26.

[11] *Ibid.*, 1908, 25; *A Plea for a new Chemical Laboratory* in *Union Magazine*, i, 1904–6, 59–62.

[12] *Ann. Rept.*, 1906, 11, 26, 1906 (Dec.), 10.

for the School of Advanced Medical Studies and a Nurses' Home.[1] Work was begun in the following year, and the building to house the medical school, situated at the corner of Gower Street and Huntley Street, was opened in 1907.[2] The relief thus afforded and the removal in that year of the Boys' School to Hampstead made possible a redistribution of accommodation within the existing buildings. In the South Wing, vacated by the School, further space was given to Applied Mathematics and to Engineering, and the Galton Eugenics Laboratory was moved from 88, Gower Street, and brought into the college ; for the rest, the second floor was allotted to an extension of the department of Hygiene, and to the housing of a Philosophical department with two lecture rooms, and a Psychological Laboratory adjoining ; the first floor to the provision of accommodation for the department of Geology and of three lecture rooms for the Faculty of Arts ; the ground floor to the provision of five lecture rooms for the Faculty of Arts and a suite of rooms for the use of the Lady Superintendent and women students ; and the basement for the provision of cloak rooms for women students. At the same time the department of Pathology and the Pathological Museum were removed to the Donald Currie Building. In consequence of these arrangements it was possible to give to Botany the whole of the Birkbeck Building, to remove the Science Library north of the Flaxman Gallery and so free the whole of the area south of that for the concentration of the Arts Libraries, and to give more space on the top floor to Egyptology, while on the ground floor the former Medical Library was transferred to the Union Society and the Union Smoking Room became the Professors' Smoking Room,[3] which since 1902 had been situated in what is now the German Library.[4]

In 1907 donations made it possible to erect in what had been the School playground a new building for Physiology,

[1] *Ann. Rept.*, 1905, 22–4, 27.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1906, 27, 1906 (Dec.), 28.

[3] *Ibid.*, 1908, 26–7, *cf.* 29–30, 30–2, 33–6, 39, 1906 (Dec.), 24–5, 1909, 25–6, 31, 1910, 13, 1914, 50 ; *Cal.*, 1907, plans.

[4] *Cal.*, 1902, plan.

which was opened in 1909.[1] In consequence of this Botany obtained the rooms vacated by Physiology on the second floor of the North Wing,[2] while Anatomy and Pharmacology found temporary accommodation in the Birkbeck Building,[3] some additional space was provided for Zoology and for Physics,[4] and Geography was granted separate accommodation.[5] In 1912 this rearrangement was completed by the opening of the new building for Pharmacology, which was an extension of the department of Physiology.[6]

The erection of the School of Advanced Medical Studies in 1907 had deprived the department of Architecture of a home, since it had been temporarily housed at Nos. 135 and 137, Gower Street, and the Council then decided, in order to provide it with accommodation, to complete the South-West Wing.[7] But it had found itself unable at once to carry out its decision, and Architecture had been constrained to content itself with further temporary quarters in a house formerly occupied by the bursar of the Hospital at the north-west end of the college.[8] Further extensive benefactions received in 1911 made possible the building of the north-west front upon Gower Street, to house the department of Architecture together with that of Applied Statistics.[9] The building was approaching completion when war broke out and was handed over to the government as a temporary hospital under the management of University College Hospital, and only opened, for the purposes for which it was really designed, in 1919.[10] In 1912 the building of new Chemical Laboratories in Gower Place was begun, and the building was in use, although not fully completed, by 1915.[11]

[1] *Ann. Rept.*, 1908, 21, 1909, 30, 27–34, 1910, 27–34, 48.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1909, 30, 34–42.

[3] *Ibid.*, 1909, 36, 1910, 48.

[4] *Ibid.*, 1910, 47.

[5] *Ibid.*, 1910, 46.

[6] *Ibid.*, 1912, 29, 1913, 32–3; Sir Thomas Barlow: *Opening of the New Institute of Pharmacology*, 1912.

[7] *Ann. Rept.*, 1905, 29.

[8] *Ibid.*, 1906, 25, 1910, 46.

[9] *Ibid.*, 1911, 31, 1912, 27–9, 1913, 31–2, 1914, 33–4.

[10] *Ibid.*, 1916, 28, 1920, 33, 1921, 36.

[11] *Ibid.*, 1908, 32, 1910, 42–3, 1911, 27–8, 1912, 26–7, 1913, 30–1, 1914, 24, 1915, 31, 1916, 28; *University of London, University College. The New Chemical Laboratories* [1915].

By the outbreak of war therefore, the college had gone far to realise the plans which it made in 1907. There remained yet to be undertaken the completion of the building for the Faculty of Medical Sciences by the erection of a new block for Anatomy, the provision of adequate quarters for Zoology, the satisfaction of the requirements of Engineering, the completion of the provision made for Chemistry, the conversion of All Saints church, Gordon Street, into the Great Hall, and the refitting of the General Library and the Science Library.[1]

Provision was made for Engineering by reconstruction of the existing building and by the addition of two floors to the South-West Wing between 1919 and 1923.[2] A gift from the Rockefeller Foundation made possible the erection of an Anatomy Building, which was opened in 1923.[3] A Ramsay Memorial Laboratory of Chemical Engineering was opened in temporary quarters at No. 23, Gordon Street, in 1924.[4] Beyond this, before 1927, it proved not to be possible to do more than proceed with various minor alterations. In 1919 Geology obtained additional accommodation and Applied Mathematics moved into part of the quarters of the old Chemistry department.[5] Some progress was made in the reconstruction of the Science Library.[6] The Flaxman Gallery was redecorated in 1922, and a staircase was built leading from the main building to the South quadrangle.[7] Geography was transferred to a house in Gordon Square in 1921,[8] and Applied Mathematics and Physics obtained further room in consequence of the removal of Anatomy in 1923.[9]

[1] *Cf. Ann. Rept.*, 1910, 13, 1912, 50–3, 1913, 33–4; *Memorandum upon the College Site, Buildings and Equipment; the steps now being taken towards their completion; and the Funds, provided and required, 1st January*, 1913.

[2] *Ann. Rept.*, 1916, 35–6, 1917, 38, 1918, 41, 1920, 17, 34, 1921, 36, 1922, 42, 55, 1923, 44–5, 1924, 19, *cf.* 1920, 46.

[3] *Ibid.*, 1921, 36–7, 78–82, 1922, 42, 1923, 44, 1924, 43–7; *University of London, University College. New Building for the Department of Anatomy and Extension of Physiology Institute opened by His Majesty the King, May 31st*, 1923. *Gift of the Rockefeller Foundation.*

[4] *Ann. Rept.*, 1917, 18, 1920, 34, 1923, 44, 60–2, 1924, 47, 1925, 44.

[5] *Ibid.*, 1920, 45. [6] *Ibid.*, 1921, 50, 1922, 55–6.

[7] *Ibid.*, 1923, 45. [8] *Ibid.*, 1922, 42. [9] *Ibid.*, 1926, 60.

In the course of these developments the site owned by the college was extended. Before incorporation in 1907 the college had acquired four of the seven houses separating the School playground from Gower Street. It acquired two more in 1919 and the third in 1920.[1] In 1911 it purchased the property facing upon Gower Place, and in 1912 procured a Closing Order for Little Gower Place, having already purchased No. 134, Gower Street, which abutted upon it; and in that year it bought also the disused church in Gordon Street destined for conversion into the Great Hall.[2] In 1923 a further extension down Gower Street was effected by the purchase of Nos. 114 and 116,[3] while between 1919 and 1922 the college obtained leases of Nos. 21 and 24, Gordon Square, and 21 and 23, Gordon Street.[4]

In 1900 the Council had found it necessary to appoint a committee to enquire into "the serious position of the affairs of the College,"[5] and the extensive developments of the subsequent years were only made possible by the fact that the college was the recipient of large benefactions. Between 1902 and 1912 it received towards the monies it was necessary to provide to effect incorporation in the university, and towards equipment and endowment, gifts amounting to £418,410, and increases in annual grants to the extent of £10,025.[6] Between 1912 and 1926 it received in addition £30,000 for the School of Architecture, a special grant of £30,000 from the London County Council, £25,000 through the Ramsay Memorial Committee, and £370,000 from the

[1] *Memorandum upon the College Site, Buildings and Equipment; the steps now being taken towards their completion; and the Funds, provided and required, 1st January*, 1913, 3; *Ann. Rept.*, 1920, 33, 1921, 37.

[2] *Memorandum upon the College Site* [*etc.*], 4; *Ann. Rept.*, 1911, 28, 1912, 27, 1913, 33–4.

[3] *Ann. Rept.*, 1924, 19.

[4] *Ibid.*, 1920, 33, 1922, 42, 1923, 44.

[5] *Ibid.*, 1901, 22.

[6] *The Needs of University College, London: with some account of the previous history of the college and the part it has already played in the increase of knowledge; being An Appeal for the Endowment of advanced University Education and Research in London*, 1902; *Ann. Rept.*, 1914, 32–3, *cf.* 1905, 22–6, 1906, 21–2, 1908, 21, 1909, 21, 23, 1913, 32 (*cf.* 1904, 23–4), 1912, 26–7.

Rockefeller Foundation.[1] While, however, the college received these munificent benefactions it continued to experience difficulty in meeting its ordinary current expenditure. From time to time, in spite of the extent of the benefactions, capital expenditure was met out of income to the detriment of the current work of the college, and the very magnitude of the gifts for new buildings greatly increased the general maintenance charges.[2] Gradually increased grants were made by the London County Council,[3] the Treasury, the Board of Education, and certain extra-Metropolitan authorities.[4] Some improvement was effected in the financial position of the staff. By 1906 the majority of the professors were in receipt of fixed stipends and relieved of the cost of apparatus and the payment of their assistants; a pension scheme was started in the session 1907–8; and the college entered the Federated Superannuation System in 1913.[5] But many of the salaries remained for long quite insufficient.[6] And, while there was an increase of fees in 1920 and the income for the session 1925–6 exceeded the expenditure, the college entered upon its second century in 1926 with a deficit.[7]

The great increase in the size and complexity of the institution made it necessary to reorganise its administration. In 1900 the office of Principal was established and G. Carey Foster was appointed to it.[8] He was succeeded in 1904 by T. G., now Sir Gregory, Foster, who had held the post of Secretary since 1900.[9] In 1907 the title was changed to that of Provost.[10] To the office of Secretary there was appointed in 1904 W. W. Seton.[11] In 1908 the room on the right-hand side of the Arts entrance was converted into a

[1] *Ann. Rept.*, 1912, 28–9, 1913, 31–2, 1915, 32, 1920, 34, 1921, 36–7, 48–9, 78–82; *cf.* Materials for the History of University College. Documents, Box VI. [In the college library.]

[2] *Cf. Ann. Rept.*, 1912, 13, 1915, 16.

[3] *Cf. ibid.*, 1903, 10, 1904, 11, 1906, 24, 1910, 12, 1912, 13.

[4] *Cf. ibid.*, 1915, 89, 1924, 17.

[5] *Ibid.*, 1909, 30, 1914, 17.

[6] *Ibid.*, 1906, 11, 1906 (Dec.), 10, 1913, 13–5, 1921, 17.

[7] *Ibid.*, 1921, 17, 1927, 19.

[8] *Ibid.*, 1901, 22.

[9] *Ibid.*, 1905, 15, 1901, 23, *cf.* 1899, 12.

[10] *Ibid.*, 1906 (Dec.), 20–1.

[11] *Ibid.*, 1905, 18–9, 1906, 17; *The Times*, 27 Jan., 1927, 7 d, 29 Jan., 1927, 7 a; *University College Magazine*, iv, 1925–7, 232–8.

General Office and the former Office was allotted to the Provost, who had hitherto had no better accommodation than the use of the Council Room when it was not otherwise engaged.[1] In these modest events is to be sought the explanation of the ease with which the college adapted itself to the rapidly increasing demands which were made upon it in the subsequent years.

In the life of the student the reform of 1898 produced a great change. Under the old system attendance at lectures had not been regularly enforced,[2] and an important party among the responsible officers of the college made freedom in this matter a point of principle. "It is contrary," they said, "to the best traditions of the college to prescribe attendance at the lectures of a professor, however eminent he may be."[3] Under the new constitution this was changed.

"The principle is now laid down by the University," said the Dean of the Faculty of Arts in presenting his report in 1902, "that the pursuing of approved Courses of Study is an indispensable part of the qualification of all Internal Students, and that attendance at such courses to the satisfaction of the Governing Body and the Teachers in a School of the University must be certified before the student is admissible to a degree. This regulation places regular attendance on Courses of Study on the same footing as the examinations that follow such courses, and gives them an academic sanction which will ensure a due recognition of their importance by both teachers and students."[4]

Thenceforth there was more of that kind of thing which a university meant to Maisie when Mrs. Beale took her through Glower Street—"a pronunciation for which Mrs. Beale

[1] *Ann. Rept.*, 1909, 31; *Cal.*, 1907, 1908, plans; *Memorandum upon the College Site, Buildings and Equipment; the steps now being taken towards their completion; and the Funds, provided and required, 1st January*, 1913, 5.

[2] *Abstracts*, ii, 1876–7, no. 35, 1877–8, no. 160, 1878–9, no. 116, iii, 1880–1, no. 7; P. Fredericq: *The Study of History in England and Scotland. Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science.* 5th Series, No. x, Baltimore, 1887, 49; L. Macdonald: University College, London [MS. in the college library], f. 2.

[3] *Cf.* W. H. Allchin: *An Account of the Reconstruction of the University of London*, 3 pts., 1905–12, i, 179.

[4] *Cal.*, 1902, lxxviii.

once laughed at her little friend "— to an institution where she was to hear 'courses' on 'subjects' "in the great grey rooms where the fountain of knowledge, in the form usually of a high voice that she took at first to be angry, plashed in the stillness of rows of faces thrust out like empty jugs."[1]

The new times, however, brought their own remedy. Upon the one hand there has been a steady development in the use of tutorial methods.

"It seems worthy of record," said the Provost in presenting his report in 1928, "that, while twenty years ago the bulk of the teaching work of the college consisted of formal lectures, to-day, by a gradual process, while the formal lecture is properly retained as a part of our method, the colloquium, the seminar, the discussion and tutorial class have been developed as important supplements to, and to some extent in substitution for, the purely lecture method."[2]

Upon the other hand the growth of corporate activity outside the lecture-room has during the period been very remarkable and has gone far to solve the problem of making a university, which is non-residential, correspond in fact to what it is in name.[3] Between 1900 and 1925 no less than sixty-one student societies were founded, nineteen of them devoted to athletic pursuits, and in spite of the interruption of their activities between 1914 and 1918, most of them have lasted. In 1904 the place of the *College Gazette* was taken by the *U.C.L. Union Magazine*,[4] which was succeeded in 1919 by the *University College Magazine* controlled by the Inter-Union Standing Committee set up in that year,[5] and these journals have provided a far more vigorous and sustained expression of undergraduate opinion than any of their predecessors. In consequence the life of independent college magazines has been brief. *The Fly* ran from 1910–12, *The Whim* for one number in 1913, *The Undergraduate* for three in 1913–4, *The Critic* for two numbers in 1914, and *Inter Nos* for three in 1923–4. Foundation Week has become a well-

[1] H. James: *What Maisie Knew*, 1898, 137.

[2] *Cal.*, 1928, cxx.

[3] *Cf. University College Gazette*, ii, 1898–1901, 227–8.

[4] *Ann. Rept.*, 1905, 52; *cf. University College Magazine*, iii, 1923–5, 201–4.

[5] *Ann. Rept.* 1920, 48, 1922, 58.

established function, and a Foundation Play has been a feature of the celebrations since 1909.[1] In 1922 an annual Charter Dinner was instituted in remembrance of the grant of 1836.[2]

An Appointments Board was established in 1906.[3] In 1923 there was instituted a fund from which grants and loans might be made to students.[4] A Residential Hall for Men Students was opened at Ealing in 1908.[5] At the same time the Athletic Ground at Perivale was purchased,[6] and an O.T.C. was formed at the end of that year.[7] The women secured an athletic ground in 1909.[8]

Into these crowded years was thrust the great upheaval of 1914–18. Of the work done in the college during the war[9] it is yet too early to tell the story. Of the deeper influences of the catastrophe the future, only, can properly judge. What, alone, this generation knows more fully than its successors can ever do is that which might have been and the measure of its loss.[10]

[1] *Ann. Rept.*, 1910, 52.
[2] *Ibid.*, 1923, 59.
[3] *Ibid.*, 1906 (Dec.), 30.
[4] *Ibid.*, 1923, 42, 1924, 42, 1925, 43.
[5] *Ibid.*, 1908, 40, 1909, 26–7, 28.
[6] *Ibid.*, 1908, 40.
[7] *Ibid.*, 1910, 51.
[8] *Cal.*, 1909, 7.
[9] *Cf. Ann. Rept.*, 1915, 46–9, 1916, 34, 36–7, 1917, 33, 39–40, 1918, 38, 41–3, 1919, 43, 1920, 20–1, 1922, Supplement; *Cal.*, 1919, cxii–cxvi.
[10] *Univ. Coll. Lond., Univ. Coll. Hosp. and Med. School. A Record*, 1914–1919. Edited by R. W. Chambers, 2 v., 1922.

CHAPTER XIII

THE LIBRARY[1]

The history of the library is the history of the college in miniature. It was planned upon a noble scale; it subsisted for many years in penury; what it is, it owes in the main to a long line of unrequited benefactors, among whom the professors are conspicuous; and since 1901 it has been entirely reorganised and placed under the care of an expert administration.

It was intended originally, it will be remembered, to devote to the accommodation of the library the southern of the three large rooms opening off what is now the Flaxman Gallery, together with what is now the Mocatta Library. The Great Library, however, was, for lack of funds, never completed, and in 1837 the area designed for it was converted to the use of the Boys' School. From 1828 to 1849 the library was housed in what was called the Small Library, at

[1] L. Newcombe: The Library of University College, 1826–1926 [Typescript in the college library], *cf.* the same writer's *The University and College Libraries of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1927, 137–40; R. W. Chambers: *The Library of University College, London*, in *The Library Association Record*, xi, 1909, 350–8; *Catalogue of books in the Library belonging to the Medical Society of University College, London*, 1843; *Catalogue of books in the General Library, etc.*, 3 v., 1879; *Supplement to the Catalogue*, 1879, *etc.* [containing additions to the year 1886], 1897; *Catalogue of books in the Medical and Biological Libraries, etc.*, 1887; *Additions to the Libraries during* 1887–(1900), 1888–(1901); [T. Whittaker]: *Report on the Bentham MSS. at University College, London, with Catalogue* [1892]; R. A. Rye: *Catalogue of the printed books and manuscripts forming the Library of Frederic David Mocatta*, 1904; R. W. Chambers: *Catalogue of the Dante Collection*, 1910; L. Newcombe: *Catalogue of the Periodical Publications*, 1912; J. Wilks and A. D. Lacey: *Catalogue of Works dealing with the Study of Western Palæography in the Libraries of the University of London . . .*, 1921; W. Bonser: *Catalogue of the Geological Books in the Library . . ., including the Library of the Geologists' Association*, 1927.

the southern end of the building. In the latter year this room also was surrendered to the School, and the books were removed to quarters in the new Brundrett Wing which have ever since been the General Library.

Besides the main collection there was from the beginning a Medical Library, first placed in the northern of the two rooms behind the Upper North Theatre, and then moved to what is now the Union Lounge, where it remained until 1907. College reorganisation then necessitated its division: the Clinical half was removed to the new School of Advanced Medical Studies, where it became the nucleus of a growing library; the Anatomical and Physiological part passed through a rather difficult stage, until the Rockefeller donation made it possible to house it handsomely, in 1923, in the new wing devoted to the Medical Sciences.

The history of library administration and of library finance runs parallel with that of library accommodation. A brief period of good intentions, if not of great prosperity, is followed by fifty years and more of neglect. There was no Library Committee between 1838 and 1877. The first librarian was the Rev. F. A. Cox, appointed in 1827 at a salary of £200 a year, out of which he was expected to provide an assistant. His appointment was terminated in 1831, since the Council could no longer afford to pay for his services, and he had, strictly speaking, no successor until 1871. During the intervening years the library was left to the care of an assistant, sometimes dignified with the title of librarian, but never paid more than £80 a year, or to that of a library beadle. There was a similar retrenchment in the expenditure upon the purchase of books. In the two years 1828–9 the Council spent £2,580 odd. The sum fell to £300 odd in 1830 and to £49 odd for the whole of the four years 1832–5. The average annual expenditure for the forty-three years from 1832 to 1875 was £51, rising in the period 1876–1901 to £167.

This state of affairs was brought to an end by the appointment of R. W. Chambers as librarian in 1901, and the complete reorganisation of the libraries effected between that date and 1908. Their recent history and the account of what they now contain is best given in his own words.

"The great donations which the library received about 1870—the Graves and Morris collections—were housed by recovering the old 'Small Library,' which had been taken over by the Boys' School when the General Library was removed to its present quarters in 1849.

"These big accessions also necessitated a proper catalogue, and in 1871 Adrian Wheeler was appointed librarian. Wheeler was an expert cataloguer, and when, thanks to the generosity of Samuel Sharpe, a Catalogue of the library was printed (in 1879), the volume A to C, revised by Wheeler, must have been one of the best catalogues which had been printed in England up to that date. But progress was slow, and the College authorities impatient, outside help was called in to deal with the section D to Z : the work on this section was so inferior as to leave all future librarians with an almost insoluble problem. Wheeler made an excellent series of supplementary catalogues (1887–1900) : these, cut up and mounted on cards by his successor, formed the beginning of that card catalogue in which all accessions since that time have been incorporated. Finally, in 1897, was printed Wheeler's catalogue of the numerous accessions which had accrued between 1879 and 1886 : a volume quite up to the high standard of his other cataloguing.

"But though the library was now mostly, though by no means entirely, catalogued, and though it was, so far as Wheeler's share went, excellently catalogued, nevertheless, during Wheeler's thirty years' tenure of office, no serious addition was made to the library rooms, and the housing problem became acute ; books were placed in corridors, cellars and attics. All but a few hundred books were under lock and key, to be had only on application to the librarian. Meantime the whole method of teaching was altering, and the more advanced teachers were demanding training libraries, corresponding to the Seminar libraries of German universities, where, as Professor Pollard expressed it in 1907, they could teach their pupils 'not what is truth, but how to find out truth for themselves.'

"At the beginning of 1901 Wheeler was superannuated, and R. W. Chambers was appointed librarian ; he was fortunate in having the help of F. W. Clifford as assistant librarian, and in being able to collect round him a group of energetic and scholarly young men, fresh from school, who mostly worked for their degree simultaneously with their library work. These were L. Newcombe (now librarian of the Central Library for Students), R. Offor and W. Bonser, who long afterwards left to take up their present posts of University librarians at Leeds and Birmingham, and J. A. Wilks. In 1903 Clifford left, upon being appointed librarian to the Chemical Society ; Newcombe succeeded him as sub-librarian, and ultimately succeeded Chambers as librarian in

1922; Wilks succeeded Newcombe in 1926. Further, since 1919 the School of Librarianship has been working in the closest co-operation with the College library. Therefore, as against her novercal treatment of her first librarian Dr. Cox, and her long preference of library beadles over librarians, University College can claim in recent years to have been a nursing mother of men trained for work in university and scientific libraries.

"But in 1901 this was far distant. The immediate problem was to satisfy the demands of the professors for libraries of the 'Seminar' type, where their students could have access to the shelves. In Egyptology (Edwards Library: 1892) and Classical Archæology (Yates Library: 1896) the professors, Flinders Petrie and E. A. Gardner, had formed such libraries for themselves; the energy with which they had acted as librarians had made the experiment thoroughly successful; and the more active professors in Arts and Science were clamouring for an opportunity of doing the same. There was a real danger that the library, which already contained a very rich collection of books, would be split up, each professor taking off his own books to form a Departmental Library in a corner of his laboratory or class-room.

"On the other hand, there was a strong opposition which was emphatic as to the necessity of keeping the library together, and even of refusing access to the shelves. This opposition was most marked among the professors who were in active touch with the strongest sections of the library, such as the extraordinary 'Graves' mathematical collection. The leader of this party, Karl Pearson, explained his policy to the new librarian: 'All books should be kept in cases of which the librarian alone has the key. Then, if a book is missing, we know whom to hang.' And those in favour of maintaining a centralised library were able to point to the fact that experiments in Departmental libraries had been far from uniformly successful. The separate Law Library, which, with many vicissitudes, had existed since the foundation of the college, had been absorbed as long ago as 1849.[1] An attempt to organise the Sharpey-Grant Library as a Departmental library, to the shelves of which members of the Physiological and Anatomical staff could have access, had broken down in 1879, owing to difficulties of administration. This library remained in a separate room, but only the librarian had access to it. The Fine Arts Library (Edwin Field and Grote memorial), which had been housed in the Slade School since 1872, had, because of somewhat similar difficulties of administration, been incorporated in the general collection in 1898. And actually, in the year 1901, in the very midst of the heated controversy arising from the suggestion to

[1] It has now (1928) been reconstituted, under the control of the librarian.

split up the central library into Departmental libraries, the Chemical Department was compelled, owing to want of space, to hand over to the general College collection a valuable Departmental library (including the Fownes bequest) which it had possessed since the 'fifties. But the library had no place in which to put this collection, and in the meantime it had to be left in cases in the corridor.

"By the summer of 1901 a policy was beaten out,[1] to which the Library Committee has since consistently adhered. It was accepted, as a working compromise, by both the extreme parties: not without some heartburnings, but with increasing satisfaction as time went on. This was chiefly due to the wise support which the librarian received from Sir Gregory Foster. As Provost, and nevertheless as one who, in his student days, had been librarian of Ten Brink's Seminar Library at Strasburg, Foster had simultaneously the keenest sympathy with the claims both of central administration and of Departmental libraries. The essence of the compromise was that the library should be, as opportunity allowed, classified and arranged in separate rooms, to the shelves of which the academic staff and selected students could have access: but that these rooms, if possible, should adjoin one another and should, *in any case*, form one library under the control of the librarian and of the Library Committee. Each of these libraries was to possess its own catalogue, but there was to be one combined catalogue of the whole library.

"The first steps were immediately taken in the long vacation of 1901. The stately Grant and Morris books were removed from the old 'Small Library,' where indeed they had been seldom seen, to a new home in the General Library, and served to dignify that fine building. The old 'Small Library' was equipped as an 'open access' library for English, French, and German students, and styled 'The Modern Language Library.' At this time there were hardly any German books in the college; the building up of what is one of the best working students' libraries in that subject to be found in this country has been due to the energetic co-operation, over a period of twenty-seven years, of Professor Robert Priebsch. The Sharpey-Grant Library had been previously housed in a room to which, as stated above, only the librarian had access, and which was insufficiently heated, whilst, owing to an adjoining flue, the next room was too hot to be put to any use save that of storing a little quite useless lumber. The ingenious idea of knocking down the partition between the two rooms simultaneously doubled the size and improved the temperature

[1] Report of the Library Committee, presented June 9, 1901, in the Minutes of the Library Committee, ii, ff. 267–74.

of this library. Room was thus found for the homeless Chemical and Physical books, side by side with the Anatomical and Physiological books of the Sharpey-Grant collection, and so came into existence the first Science Library in the college, and to its shelves students could have access. In spite of its remoteness from the laboratories, it was hailed with almost pathetic delight by staff and students alike. Thus the library got a firm footing within the area which, in the original plan, had been marked out for the 'Great Library,' but which in the meantime had been used for almost every other purpose. The Science Library has since benefited by two agreements, the first made with the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1904, the other with the Geologists' Association in 1907, ratifying an earlier agreement of 1903. These agreements transferred the books and periodicals of these two Associations to the college, in exchange for the privilege of access by members of the Associations to the College library; it is largely in consequence of this that the college has been able to build up its large collection of scientific periodicals.

"The rearrangements of 1907 gave an opportunity for carrying these changes further.[1] All the class-rooms into which this 'Great Library' area had been divided were now seized for Arts Libraries. The growth of the Honours Schools in English, French, and German necessitated the division of the Modern Language Library into English, German, and Romance Libraries, each occupying one, if not two, rooms. (This development was parallel to the division of the old Modern Language Board into three smaller Boards.) Other Arts Libraries were added for History, Philosophy, and Oriental Languages, and the Yates Library of Classical Archæology, which had existed as a separate Departmental library since 1896, was brought into the scheme. Subsequently libraries were added for Librarianship (1919), the history of London (1922: incorporating the 'Ward' collection), Classics, Geography, and Phonetics (all in 1923), and Scandinavian Languages (1924). The Scandinavian Library was subsequently enriched by gifts from the library of Queen Alexandra and that of W. P. Ker. The libraries of Librarianship, Geography, and Phonetics had, owing to necessities of space, to be housed at some distance from the other Arts Libraries, but remained under the same central control. This also applies to the library which since 1905 had existed in the Bartlett School of Architecture.

"The old Anatomical Museum was scheduled in 1907 for a Great Hall, but the librarian obtained permission to place the Science Library

[1] *University of London, University College, Minutes of the College Committee, 2 July, 1907, Appendix B. Report of the Library Committee on the future policy of the Library at University College.*

books round the walls of its southern portion. As the unsuitability of this room for a Great Hall became more and more apparent, the librarian was able cautiously to encroach upon the floor space, and finally, when the northern half was also evacuated owing to the Rockefeller donation, the available area was doubled by throwing a floor across the whole area : the lower portion, except for some rooms set apart for administration, all becoming the Science Library.

" The Centenary year, therefore, saw the library actually in possession of most of the structure which our founders had erected in 1828, and expecting the reversion of the rest, when the laboratories still uneasily existing in some portions of this central building shall have been removed to more comfortable quarters.

" Nor could this original college building be put to any more appropriate purpose than that of housing a library which is the inheritance bequeathed by a succession of friends and teachers of the college. The roll of our donors affords, indeed, a brief survey of our college history. The donations of the first twenty years mark that strong interest which might be expected, in the studies of law and political science. At the very outset, part of the Ricardo fund was appropriated to the formation of a library of Political Economy : the Bentham books and MSS. were deposited at various dates between 1832 and 1853 : in 1828, 1839, and later years Lord Chief Justice Denman gave a collection of parliamentary papers, including the Journals of the Lords and Commons : in 1847 came the Blackburne Law Library, and in 1855 this series of donations was concluded by the large parliamentary collection of Joseph Hume.

" Prior to 1850 the only large donation which was not of this legal-political type was the extraordinarily rich Morrison Chinese Library, which is now housed in the School of Oriental Studies.

" Then the college received two very important and large general collections—those of Edward Holme (1850) and James Morris (1869).

" For thirty years after this, till the end of the century, the accessions consisted mainly of the scientific libraries of a number of professors. In 1870 the College received the most valuable of its collections, Professor J. T. Graves' bequest of all his ' mathematical, astronomical, and physical books and papers.' To this collection belong the bulk of our rare and early printed books. Mighty book collectors have wondered how one man could ever make such a library—and he a man whose professorial business was not with mathematics and physics, but with jurisprudence. Then, in the year in which he retired from teaching physiology (1874), Sharpey gave his own library to the college : in the same year, hearing that his friend and colleague Robert Grant, the

professor of Comparative Anatomy, was dying intestate and without relations, he hurried to his bedside and got him to leave his library to the college, and his estate as a fund to maintain it. The Grant Fund, and the somewhat earlier Peene Fund, chiefly devoted, like the Grant Fund, to the purchase of foreign scientific periodicals, have proved how much may be done by the steady expenditure under skilled direction of even small sums of money. This Sharpey-Grant Library was catalogued and arranged by Sharpey with his own hand.

"In 1877 Sir Richard Quain, formerly professor of Clinical Surgery, gave many of his medical books. In the same year, many books from the library of the late E. A. Parkes, professor of Clinical Medicine, were presented by his brother. In 1879 the nephew of Thomas Graham presented his uncle's chemical library, and Mrs. W. K. Clifford gave many of her husband's mathematical books. In 1883 John Morris gave his geological library. Marcus Beck bequeathed his surgical books (1893), and Sir John Eric Erichsen presented his medical and surgical books in 1894.

"Against these ten professorial collections in science or medicine, there is comparatively little to record for the other faculties. Professor Sir Richard Quain presented his brother's law library in 1876, and in the same year Mr. James Yates bequeathed a collection of books relating to classical antiquities and archæology, which has since been developed into a large library, thanks in great measure to the Yates foundation. The Daulby-Roscoe Icelandic collection was given in 1860, and the Barlow Dante Library in 1877.

"Since 1900, on the other hand, the large bequests and donations to the Library have been almost exclusively in the Faculty of Arts. In 1903 the library of the late Frederic Septimus Leighton (classics and philosophy) was presented by the wish of his children, Mrs. Sutherland Orr, Mrs. Matthews, and the late Lord Leighton. In 1904 books from the library of George Henry Lewes were presented by his daughter-in-law. In 1905 the Oriental Library of Arthur Strong, Professor of Arabic, was presented by Mrs. Strong. Strong was an omnivorous scholar, a student of Sanskrit, Pali, Persian, Arabic, Assyrian : despite the early age at which he died, he had collected an oriental library of such wide and general interest, and illustrating so many different branches of learning, that the college sought and obtained an agreement to retain it, when the other oriental collections were placed on loan at the School of Oriental Studies in 1922. In 1906 the Jewish Historical Society presented the library of F. D. Mocatta (Hebrew, historical and general, with a special collection of Anglo-Judaica). This valuable collection and endowment was afterwards supplemented by the collections of

Professor Sir Hermann Gollancz (1925) and Israel Abrahams (1926). In 1908 came the classical and archæological library bequeathed by Professor Bunnell Lewis of Cork, and in 1910 the Misses Stokes presented the Celtic library of their father, the late Dr. Whitley Stokes. This is a scholar's working library of exceptional interest, enriched with marginalia which Whitley Stokes kept adding to his books till the end of his long and laborious life. In 1912 a large collection of German MSS. was presented to the college by many donors, chief among whom were the Earl of Crawford and Lord Iveagh. This forms the foundation of our collection of mediæval MSS. : but the college already possessed a few, including a fine illuminated Vulgate, the gift of William Steere. In 1913, the year of his retirement from the chair of Chemistry, which he had held for twenty-six years, Sir William Ramsay gave £500 for the formation of a Chemical Library to be housed in the Chemical Department. In 1917 Lord Reay presented a number of books, chiefly historical and political, and in 1920 the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace presented a library on the history, literature, and government of America. In 1921, Sir Herbert Thompson, an old student, presented a number of valuable editions of Dante and of *Il libro del Cortegiano*. In 1923 the college received a large number of the books of W. P. Ker, many bearing his marginal notes.

" In 1926 came what, after the Graves Collection, is the largest and most valuable single accession the library has ever received, the collection of Sir John Rotton. Sir John Rotton died at the age of eighty-nine ; twenty years earlier he had retired from the active part he had taken in public life and in the government of the college : these last twenty years he spent in the midst of a large garden and a large library. When the library grew so great that the books seemed likely to thrust him out of the corner near the fireplace reserved as his study, he would send a few hundreds to the college. Thus before his death he had given us nearly four thousand volumes and pamphlets (chiefly on Dante), and at his death we received nearly fourteen thousand more.

" Finally, a number of the friends of the late Walter Seton presented to the Library his collection of early books and MSS. relating to St. Francis of Assisi. The sudden death of Walter Seton, just before the Centenary celebration for which he had worked so loyally, will always be remembered with peculiar sorrow : he, like Arthur Strong, fell a victim to his own restless energy : their fiery spirit burnt itself out soon, but not before they had, in a short time, fulfilled a long time.

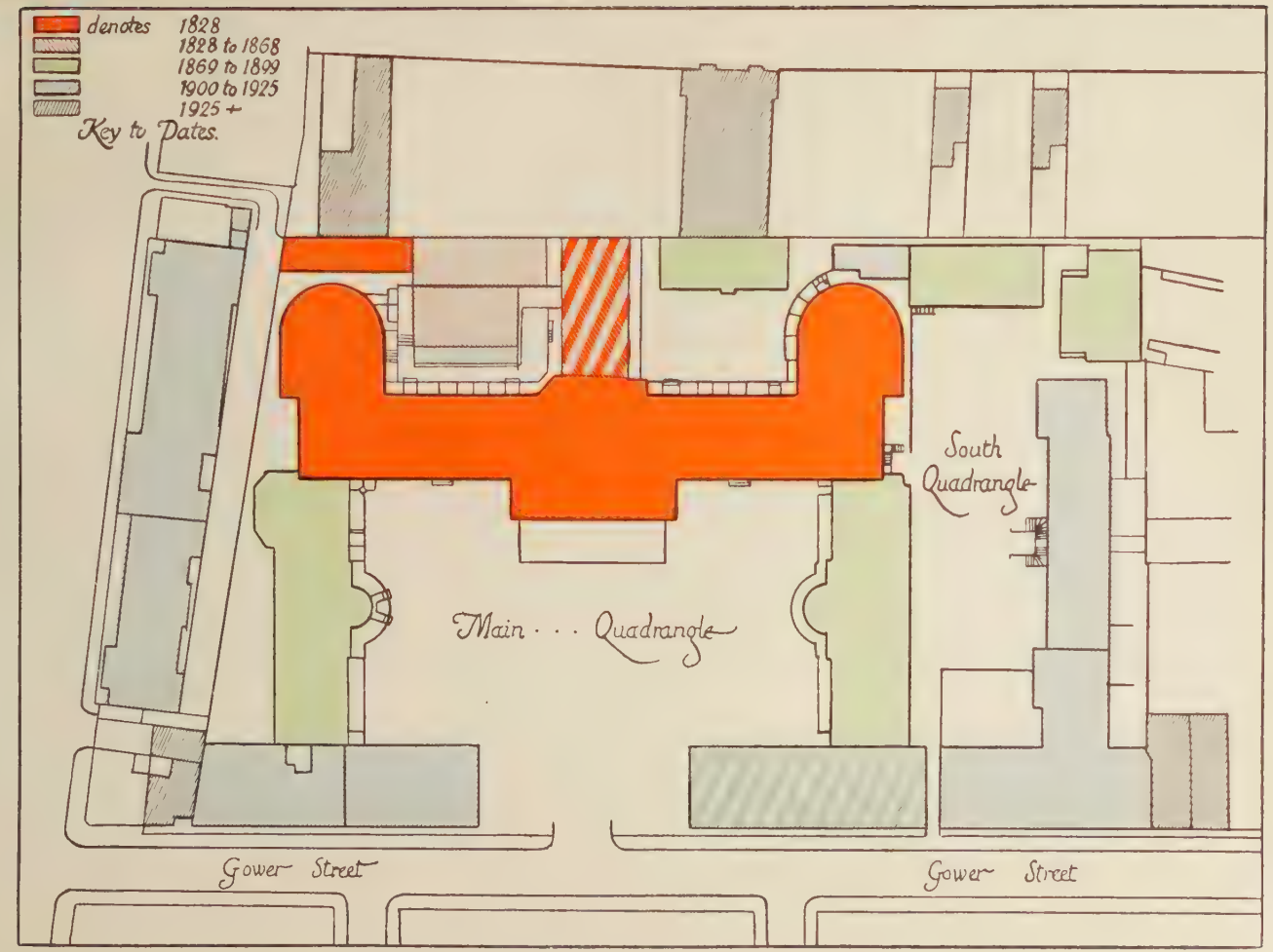
" So we find that some of these books belonged to men who, like Barlow or Whitley Stokes, had no very intimate connection with our

society : yet they or their kin wished that the books they had loved should find their permanent home with us. Others of our benefactors, though never teachers of the College, have given laborious years to its service : Lord Reay, for twenty-four years our President or Chairman ; Sir John Rotton, for over thirty years a member of the Council of the college.

" But our library, in very large measure, is the kindly bequest of the men who taught in the rooms where their books are now stored : not only the donors of the larger collections enumerated above, but others : men like George Fownes, T. H. Key, M. J. M. Hill, Ernest Starling, Vaughan Harley, or Arthur Platt. Nor should we forget those who contributed even one much loved book to the College library, as did Arthur Hugh Clough. His great Suidas (2 vols. folio), a Rugby prize, with the inscription *studiis fœliciter coeptis*, remains to remind our students of the days when Clough also was a student bound upon the happy quest of the Gypsy-Scholar for that which

'Is not in the world's market bought and sold.'

" The sense of familiarity with our rich inheritance and with the happy memories which hover along our corridors is enhanced as the student sees sometimes, in bust or bas-relief, the features of the donor whose book he is using : the profile of W. P. Ker, stern but kindly, or the keen intellectual face of Arthur Strong. Or sometimes, when the mahogany doors are thrown open, there may be seen, seated in the library to which his books and papers were the first eminent donation, the auto-icon (as he would have styled it) of Jeremy Bentham himself."



BLOCK PLAN SHOWING THE GROWTH OF THE SITE AND BUILDINGS.

APPENDIX I.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE ON THE COLLEGE RECORDS.

A.—MANUSCRIPT.

[For a list of the archives of the College see the *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, v. 1927–8, 77–82.]

B.—PRINTED.

i. Prospectus, Notices, Circulars, Reports, etc., 1825–1829.[1]

1. *A Proposal of a Metropolitan University in a Letter to Henry Brougham, Esq.* *The Times*, 9 Feb., 1825, 4 a–b.
2. *Suggestions Respecting the Plan of an University in London.* By Mr. Campbell. *The New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal*, xiii, 1825. Pt. I. *Original Papers.* 404–419. [April.]
3. *Reprint of Mr. Campbell's Letter to Mr. Brougham, on the Subject of a London University, which appeared in "The Times" of Feb. 9, together with Suggestions which appeared in the April number of the New Monthly Magazine.* London: printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, Paternoster Row. 1825. pp. 21.
4. [Report of the preliminary meeting, 4 June, 1825.] *The Times*, 6 June, 1825, 4 a.
5. *Suggestions Respecting the Plan of a College in London.* By T. Campbell. *The New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal*, xiv, 1825. Pt. II. *Original Papers.* 1–11. [July: *cf. The Times*, 1 July, 1825.]
6. [Report of public meeting, 1 July, 1825.] *The Times*, 2 July, 1825, 3 a; *The Morning Chronicle*, 2 July, 1825, 4 a–e; *The Courier*, 2 July, 1825, 3.
7. *Prospectus of the London University.* Richard Taylor, Printer, Shoe-Lane. pp. 3. [n.d.] [*Cf. The Times*, 9 July, 1825, 2 d.]

[1] Copies of the following items are, unless otherwise stated, to be found in the college library.

8. *Prospectus of the London University.* *Capital* 300,000 *l.* Richard Taylor, Printer. pp. 3. [n.d.]
9. *London University.* [Commencing] *Sir, At a Meeting of the Provisional Committee . . . 26th of September,* 1825. . . . J. S. Hughes, Printer, 66, Paternoster Row, London. p. 1. [n.d.] [Circular calling for payment of twenty-five per cent. upon shares.]
10. *London University . . . November* 25, 1825. J. S. Hughes, Printer. p. 1. [Reminder that deposit on share has not been paid.]
11. *London University. At a Meeting of the Provisional Committee, . . . December* 3, 1825 . . . *It was resolved . . .* pp. 2.
12. *London University. . . . 6 December,* 1825. J. S. Hughes, Printer. p. 1. [Summons to General Meeting of Shareholders on 19 Dec., 1825, enclosing ballot paper, list for ballot, form for proxy, and a copy of No. 11.]
13. [Report of meeting for election of Council, 19 Dec., 1825.] *The New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal.* 1826. Pt. III. *Historical Register.*—38. [Jan. 1826.]
14. *London University. Names of the Council, as elected December* 19, 1825. J. S. Hughes, Printer. p. 1. [n.d.]
15. *London University . . . January* 13, 1826. J. S. Hughes, Printer. p. 1. [Further circular requesting payment of deposit.]
16. *London University . . . January* 31, 1826. p. 1. [Notice of meeting on 6 Feb.] [1]
17. *The Deed of Settlement of the University of London.* London: printed by J. S. Hughes. M.DCCC.XXVI. pp. viii + 40.
18. *University of London. Analysis of Deed of Settlement . . . 11 February,* 1826. Printed by J. S. Hughes. pp. 4. [n.d.]
19. *University of London . . . 20 March,* 1826. pp. 2. [Lithograph circular covering copy of Deed of Settlement.]
20. *London University. List of Shareholders.* J. S. Hughes, Printer. pp. 4, folio. [n.d.: before 30 March, 1826.] [2]
21. *University of London. Prospectus.* pp. 3. [n.d.]
22. *University of London. Prospectus.* 8 *May,* 1826. pp. 4. [Reprinted in *Statement,* App., Sect. I, 31–41.]
23. *Design Adopted by the Council for the University of London.* [Engraved by Frederick Mackenzie.] [3]
24. *University of London . . . 10 June,* 1826. J. S. Hughes, Printer. p. 1. [Statement to Proprietors.]

[1] Brit. Mus., Printed Books, 1890, e. 3 (67*).
[2] Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 27,824, ff. 280–1.
[3] *Cf.* Corres., No. 33.

25. *University of London . . . 22 June*, 1826. J. S. Hughes, Printer. p. 1. [Circular : supplementary to *Prospectus.*] [1]

26. *University of London. Proprietors of Shares.* 5 *Aug.*, 1826. pp. 16.

27. *University of London . . . October* 18, 1826. J. S. Hughes, Printer. [Notice of General Meeting.]

28. *University of London. First Report of the Council to the General Meeting of Proprietors, October* 30, 1826. London : Printed by J. S. Hughes. pp. 3. [Reprinted in *Statement*, App., Sect. II, 41–5.]

[including] :—

At a General Meeting of the Proprietors of the University of London . . . the 30th of October, 1826. [Reprinted in *Statement*, App., Sect. II, 45–6 ; *cf. The Times*, 31 Oct., 1826, 2 d–e.]

29. *University of London . . . Nov.* 22, 1826. J. S. Hughes, Printer. p. 1. [Circular letter calling for payment of a further instalment of ten pounds.]

30. *University of London. Second Report of the Council to the General Meeting of Proprietors, February* 28, 1827. London : Printed by J. S. Hughes. pp. 2. [Reprinted in *Statement*, App., Sect. III, 46–8.]

[including] :—

At the Annual General Meeting of Proprietors of the University of London . . . the 28th of February, 1827. [Reprinted in *Statement*, App., Sect. III, 48 ; *cf. Supplement* to *The Times*, 1 March, 1827, 1 b.]

31. *University of London. Proprietors of Shares . . .* 8 *March*, 1827. J. S. Hughes, Printer. pp. 16.

32. *University of London . . . 12th of April*, 1827. J. S. Hughes, Printer. p. 1. [Notice of laying of foundation-stone.]

33. *University of London. Regulations for the Anniversary Dinner, April* 30, 1827. J. S. Hughes, Printer, London. p. 1.

34. *University of London . . . 28th of May*, 1827. p. 1. [Call for further instalment of ten per cent.]

35. *University of London. Report of the Proceedings of a Special General Meeting . . . 30th of May*, 1827. 2 June, 1827. p. 1.

36. *Statement by the Council of the University of London, explanatory of its Nature and Objects.* London : printed by Richard Taylor, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street. 1827. *Private Proof for the Council . . . 4th July*, 1827. pp. 34.

[1] Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 27,824, f. 284.

37. *Statement by the Council of the University of London, explanatory of the Nature and Objects of the Institution.* London: printed by Richard Taylor, for Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green; and John Murray, Albemarle Street. 1827. pp. 56.
38. *University of London. Proprietors of Shares.* 21 *July*, 1827. pp. 20.
39. *University of London . . . Nov. 27th*, 1827. p. 1. [Reminder to shareholders that payment of third instalment is overdue.]
40. *University of London . . . Nov. 27th*, 1827. pp. 3. [Call for fourth instalment: notice of appointments.]
41. *University of London . . .* 5 *January*, 1828. p. 1. [Lithograph circular communicating forfeiture of share by reason of failure to pay instalments.]
42. *University of London . . . February 9th*, 1828. p. 1. [Notice of Annual General Meeting: enclosing *List for Ballot.*]
43. *University of London. Annual General Meeting of Proprietors Held on Wednesday, the 27th of February*, 1828. Printed by Richard Taylor. pp. 16. [*Cf. The Morning Chronicle*, 28 Feb., 1828, 3 c; *The Gentleman's Magazine*, March, 1828, 252.]
44. University of London . . *May* 10, 1828. p. 1. [Call for further instalment.]
45. *Second Statement by the Council of the University of London, explanatory of the Plan of Instruction.* London: printed by Richard Taylor: For John Taylor, Bookseller and Publisher to the University, 30, Upper Gower Street, *etc.* 1828. [June.] pp. 168 + 4.
46. *Opening of the University of London, for the Session* 1828–9 . . 13 *June*, 1828. Printed by Richard Taylor. p. 1.[1]
47. *Opening of the University of London, for the Session* 1828–9. Printed by Richard Taylor. pp. 4. [n.d.]
48. [Lithograph circular letter to solicit membership of provincial committees.] Aug. 1828. p. 1.
49. *Medical School of the University of London*, 1828. *August* 20, 1828. Printed by Richard Taylor. pp. 16. [Outlines of courses.]
50. *University of London . . . 1st September*, 1828. p. 1. [Notice of Meeting of 30 September, 1828, *etc.*]
51. *University of London. Classes for the Session* 1828–9 . . . *September* 22, 1828. Printed by Richard Taylor. pp. 4.[2]

[1] Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 27,824, f. 304. [2] *Ibid.*, ff. 306–7, 321–2.

52. [Ditto.] Broadside. [*Cf. The Times*, 1 Oct., 1828, 3 d–e ; *The Morning Chronicle*, 1 Oct., 1828, 3 a–b.]

53. *University of London. At a Special General Meeting of the Proprietors, held at the University, on Tuesday, the 30th of September*, 1828 . . . Printed by Richard Taylor. pp. 8.

54. *Description of the Building for the University of London. From the Report of the Council to the Proprietors, 30th September*, 1828. London : printed for John Taylor, Bookseller to the University of London, 30, Upper Gower Street. 1828. pp. 14 + plate [a second engraving of the *Design Adopted by the Council for the University of London* by Frederick Mackenzie].[1]

55. *University of London. Table of the Days and Hours of Attendance in the Medical School.* p. 1. [n.d.]

56. *University of London. The Medical Classes* . . . Printed by Richard Taylor, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street. p. 1. [n.d.] [Hours of lectures, starting on 1 Oct., and dates of introductory lectures.]

57. *University of London. Session* 1828–1829. p. 1. [n.d.] [Dates of inaugural lectures in medical school, and date of opening of other classes.]

58. *Lectures on Mechanics.* p. 1. [n.d.] [Dates : outline of course.]

59. *Roman Language, Literature, and Antiquities. Professor, Thomas Hewitt Key, Esq. A.M.* . . . Printed by Richard Taylor. pp. 4. [n.d.] [Outline of lectures.]

60. *University of London* . . . p. 1. [n.d.] [Notice of alteration of classes.]

61. *University of London. Law Lectures* . . . *Oct.* 29, 1828. Printed by Richard Taylor. p. 1. [Dates of introductory lectures.]

62. *University of London, Law Lectures* . . . *Oct.* 31, 1828. Printed by Richard Taylor. p. 1. [Hours of lectures.]

63. *University of London. Classes for the Modern Languages* . . . *Nov.* 3, 1828. Printed by Richard Taylor. p. 1.

64. *University of London. Proprietors of Shares and Donors* . . . *12th November*, 1828. Printed by Richard Taylor. pp. 4.

65. *University of London. Mechanics.—Second Course.* Printed by Richard Taylor, Printer to the University of London. pp. 2. [n.d.]

66. *Second Statement* [*ut supra*]. 2nd edition. Nov. 1828. pp. 177 + 4. [Incorporating syllabus of Medical Jurisprudence.]

[1] Corres., No. 883 ; Minutes, i, f. 171.

67. *University of London.* 6*th Dec.*, 1828. [Lithograph circular calling for further instalment.]
68. *University of London . . .* 16*th Dec.*, 1828. Printed by Richard Taylor, Printer to the University. pp. 4. [Notice of alteration of classes in Greek, Latin, and Mathematics after Christmas.]
69. *Description of the Building for the University of London . . .* London : printed for John Taylor, Bookseller to the University of London, 30, Upper Gower Street. 1829. pp. 14.
70. *University of London . . . February* 9, 1829. p. 1. [Notice of Annual General Meeting : enclosing list for ballot.]
71. *University of London. Classes for the Session* 1828–9 . . . *February* 10, 1829. Printed by Richard Taylor. p. 4.
72. *University of London. Lectures on Italian Literature . . . Feb.* 11, 1829. p. 1.
73. *University of London.* 28*th March*, 1829. p. 1. [Lithograph circular calling for payment of instalment.]
74. *University of London. Annual General Meeting of Proprietors Held on Wednesday, the* 25*th of February*, 1829. Printed by Richard Taylor, Printer to the University of London. pp. 20. [*Cf. The Times*, 5 March, 1829, 6 a–b ; *The Gentleman's Magazine*, March, 1829, 255.]
75. *University Dispensary, No.* 4, *George Street, Euston Square.* p. 1. [n.d.] [Notice of establishment.]
76. *University of London. Notice of the Courses of Lectures During the Session* 1829–1830. Printed by Richard Taylor, Printer to the University of London. pp. 16. [n.d.][1]
77. *University of London . . . Sept.* 18, 1829. p. 1. [Call for payment of instalment : dates of opening of classes.]
78. *University of London.* 1829–1830. *Medical Classes . . . Sept.* 27, 1829. Printed by Richard Taylor. pp. 4. [Hours of lectures.]
79. *University of London . . . Dec.* 1829. Printed by Richard Taylor. pp. 4. [Prospectus.]
80. *University of London. Examinations, Which must be attended by every Student who is desirous of obtaining a Prize or Certificate of Honour at the Close of the Session . . .* 8*th Dec.*, 1829. Printed by Richard Taylor. pp. 2.

ii. Statements of Courses of Instruction.

From 1853 onwards statements of the courses of instruction are given annually in a continuous series of *Calendars* (*cf. iii. infra*). Prior

[1] *Cf. London University Magazine*, i, 1829, 120, table.

to that date the records are imperfect. The *Second Statement* (No. 45 *supra*) contained *Outlines of the Courses of Lectures*, but these are defective. The professor of Greek issued a supplementary statement [1] which appeared in *The Times*, 23 Oct., 1828, 4 a, and the professor of English appended a syllabus to his introductory lecture.[2, 1] The professor of Latin resigned before the opening of the first session, and the syllabus issued by his successor, T. H. Key (No. 59 *supra*), is to be found in *The Times*, 17 Oct., 1828, 3 c.[1] The Statements of the professors of Hindustani and Sanskrit are wanting. The professors of Philosophy and of History had not yet been appointed, and the *Outlines* are by another hand. The appointment to the chair of French had likewise yet to be made, and French is omitted altogether. The chair of Medical Jurisprudence was not yet established, and the professor, when he was appointed, had to issue a separate prospectus.[3, 1] The professor of Materia Medica published a fuller syllabus in 1829.[4]

A prospectus was issued in 1829 and in 1830.[5] For the session 1830–1 the statements of the courses, together with some of the papers set at the end of the session 1829–30, are also given in the *Calendar for the Year MDCCCXXXI*, the preface to which is dated 20 Dec., 1830. The syllabus of the professor of English is announced for issue later. History is still absent, but a single-page leaflet had been published by Malkin in February, 1830. A *Plan of Instruction* was similarly published in the *Calendar* for 1831–2, and an advertisement of the classes appeared in *The Morning Chronicle*, 14 Oct., 1831, 1 a.

The other leaflets noted above (Sect. i) are mere lists of classes and hours, but that entitled *Medical School of the University of London*, 1828 (No. 49), while in the main a reprint from the *Second Statement*, contains new matter in the syllabus of the professor of Comparative Anatomy and Zoology and the prospectus of the Dispensary.

After 1831 there was no systematic announcement of the courses until the publication of the *Calendar* was resumed in 1853, and the

[1] Included in the second edition of the *Second Statement* (No. 66 *supra*).

[2] T. Dale: *An Introductory Lecture delivered in the University of London, on Friday, October 24th*, 1828. 1828, pp. [33–4].

[3] *Medical Jurisprudence.* Professor John Gordon Smith, M.D., M.R.S.L., &c. Printed by Richard Taylor, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, pp. 4 [n.d.] [Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 27,824, ff. 323–4].

[4] *Syllabus of Lectures on Materia Medica and Therapeutics, delivered in the University of London*, by Anthony Todd Thomson . . . London: printed for John Taylor. 1829. pp. 56.

[5] *Cf.* No. 79 *supra* and *University of London. Session* 1830–31. Richard Taylor, Printer to the University of London. pp. 8 [n.d.].

records are scanty. An isolated prospectus was issued in 1839.[1] Some information may be gathered from the reports of the distribution of prizes and certificates of honour (*cf. iii. infra*), and from the inaugural lectures of the professors and the lectures delivered at the formal opening of the work of the several faculties in each session, of which there is a card catalogue in the college library.

iii. Minutes, Annual Reports, Calendars, [Reports of] Distribution of Prizes.

Minutes.

The Minutes of the Proceedings of the Council remain in manuscript down to the year 1869. In 1870 there begins a series of printed minutes, which have been bound in four volumes, 8vo, labelled *Abstracts of Council Minutes*, 1870–1890, and three volumes, 8vo, labelled *Council Minutes*, 1890–1906. From 1907 there is one volume, folio, of *Minutes of College Committee*, printed in each session. In all three series there are sessional indexes.

Annual Reports.

A continuous series of annual reports has been issued from the start. For those for 1826, 1827, 1828, and 1829, see above, Sect. i, Nos. 28, 30, 43, 74. The form continues to be irregular until 1836. In 1828 the title is, *University of London. Annual General Meeting of Proprietors Held on Wednesday, the 27th of February*, 1828. A similar form was used in 1829, 1830, and 1831. The report in 1832 is merely headed *University of London. Wednesday, 29th February*, 1832. In 1833 the report was printed before the meeting, and there were two publications: *University of London. Report of the Council to the Proprietors. February* 1833, and *University of London. Annual General Meeting of Proprietors Held on Wednesday, the 27th of February*, 1833. In 1834 the form is *University of London. Report and Appendix, February*, 1834. It is the same in 1835. The title becomes more elaborate in 1836,—*University of London. Proceedings at Annual General Meeting; Report and Appendix. 24th February*, 1836. Richard Taylor, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, Printer to the University of London, 1836. From this date onwards, with minor variations, and changes from time to time in the imprint, there is a succession of well-defined series. *Viz.*:—

University College, London. Proceedings at the Annual General Meeting of Proprietors . . . Report of Council, and Financial Statements . . . 1837[–1842].

[1] *University College, London. Session* 1839–40. . . . July, 1839. Printed by Richard and John E. Taylor. pp. 14; *cf.* Corres., No. 4674.

University College, London. Proceedings at the Annual General Meeting of Members of the College . . . Report of Council, and Financial Statements . . . 1843[–1876].

University College, London. Report of the Council, Financial Statements, and Other Documents, to be presented to the Members of the College at the Annual General Meeting . . . 1877[–1907.]

University of London, University College. Report of the College[1] *Committee (February . . . –February . . .) with Financial Statements (for the Session . . .), and other Documents, for presentation to the Senate.* 1908 +.

In 1872 the publication in the *Report* of a list of members, in accordance with the Act of 1869, was begun. The report of proceedings at the annual general meeting disappears after 1876. In 1880 there was first adopted the tabular form of the list of prizes and distinctions, in 1891 appeared a new heading, "General Appointments," in 1901 was begun the section entitled "Work of the College," which included a list of publications by members of the departments and of post-graduate courses, and in 1912 the table showing the geographical distribution of students.

For the reports of the Special General Meetings of 1830 and 1831 see footnotes to C. VI.

Calendars.

A *Calendar* was issued in 1830 and 1831 and then ceased until 1853, since when it has been regularly issued. That published in 1830 was entitled,

The London University Calendar for the Year MDCCCXXXI. London: printed by Thomas Davison, for John Taylor, 30, Upper Gower Street, Bookseller and Publisher to the University.

The preface states, "For the two former Sessions, the Public have received intelligence of the proceedings of the University of London through the medium of pamphlets and detached statements . . . [the Editor] therefore requested that the Council would give him permission to collect into one volume all the scattered documents, and other original materials, which relate to the History of the University and to the development of the Course of Instruction pursued in the several Classes." The volume includes the names of students who obtained prizes and certificates of honour in the different classes in the Sessions 1828–29 and 1829–30.

The *Calendar* published in 1831 for 1832 is almost identical with

[1] 1911 +, "*University College.*"

that published in 1830 for 1831, with an addition to the preliminary matter of pp. xxix–lxxx, containing a new *Plan of Instruction* and the prize lists for 1830–31.

Publication was resumed in 1853 with a volume entitled,

The University College, London, Calendar for the Session MDCCCLIII–IV. London : Walton and Maberly, Publishers and Booksellers to University College, 28 Upper Gower Street.

With minor variations, and changes from time to time in the imprint, the form has since remained the same, save that the first line of the title became in 1902 *University College, London* (*University of London*), and in 1906, after incorporation, *University of London, University College.*

From 1877 to 1914 the *Calendar* included plans of the college buildings. In 1899 there was begun the publication of the Deans' reports and a list of publications by members of the departments. The *Calendar* was abridged during the period 1916–20.

[*Reports of*] *Distribution of Prizes*

In the period during which no Calendar was issued recourse must be had to the series of reports of the distribution of prizes published annually from 1829 to 1852, as follows :

Distribution of the Prizes and of the Certificates of Honours in the Medical Classes of the University of London, Session 1828–29, *on Saturday, the 23rd of May*, 1829. London : printed for John Taylor (Bookseller to the University of London), 30 Upper Gower Street, 1829.

Distribution of the Prizes and of the Certificates of Honours in the Classes of Latin, Greek, English, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, English Law, and Botany, of the University of London, Session 1828–1829. [Same imprint.]

After the first session the reports of the two departments are issued together :—

University of London. Distribution of the Prizes and of the Certificates of Honours in the Medical Classes, on Saturday, the 15th of May, and in the classes of Latin [*etc. ut supra*] *on Wednesday, the 14th of July, being the Conclusion of the Session* 1829–1830. [Same imprint.]

University of London. Distribution of the Prizes and of the Certificates of Honours in the Medical Classes . . . And in the General Classes . . . Session 1830–1831. London : printed by George Woodfall, Angel Court, Skinner Street, 1831.

University of London. Distribution of the Prizes and Certificates of Honour. Session 1831–1832. London : printed by Richard Taylor. 1832.

In 1833, 1834, and 1835 the title is similar, with varying imprints. In 1836 the publication of examination papers is begun, and the medical and other classes are again separated.

University of London. Faculty of Medicine. Distribution of the Prizes and of the Certificates of Honour, Session 1835–1836. *With the Examination Papers.* London : Taylor and Walton, Booksellers and Publishers to the University of London, 30 Upper Gower Street. 1836.

[*Ibid.*] *Faculty of Arts.*

In 1837 the first line of the title is changed to *University College, London.* In 1839 and after, the second part is headed *Faculty of Arts and Laws.* In 1844 there is begun the publication of a list of graduates. There are changes in the imprint. In other respects the form remains the same until 1852, after which the series is superseded by the resumption of the publication of the *Calendar.*

C.—EARLY ENGRAVINGS OF THE COLLEGE.

Most of the prints in circulation at the time of the foundation derive from an engraving by Thomas Higham,[1] after a drawing by Mackenzie,[2] published in the *Stationers' Almanack* for 1829, which represents the original design, but differs materially from that finally adopted by the Council, and still more from the appearance of the building as it was actually constructed, showing pavilions at the termination of the wings and lanterns in place of cupolas in their centres. Besides these there are five authoritative prints :—

(i) *Design adopted by the Council for the University of London. William Wilkins, M.A., R.A., Archt.,* 1826. *Printed by C. Hullmandel.* A perspective drawing by Frederick Mackenzie (*cf.* Corres., No. 33) : showing pilasters only, at the termination of the wings : printed with plan showing colonnade : reproduced in *The Atlas,* 13th August, 1826.[3]

(ii) A tinted version of this engraving showing a few minute differences. *Cf.* p. 58.

[1] *Cf.* R. J. Godlee : *The Past, Present, and Future of the School for Advanced Medical Studies of University College, London . . .* 1907. *Frontispiece.*

[2] *Cf. Country Life,* lxi, No. 1587 (18 June, 1927), 973.

[3] *Cf.* reproduction of perspective drawing by Wilkins. *Country Life, loc. cit.*

(iii) An engraving with the same title, from a new drawing made by Frederick Mackenzie in July, 1827 (*cf.* Corres., No. 883) : showing porticos, with detached columns, at the termination of the wings : printed with a modified plan.

This engraving was again used in the *Description of the Building of the University of London*, 1828, with a plan still further changed.

(iv) *West Front of the University of London opened October*, 1828. *William Wilkins, M.A., R.A., Archt.*, 1826. *Engraved from the Archts. Designs and Published by Geo. Hawkins near the Grove Hackney 30th October* 1828 *by leave and consent of the Council.*

An elevation of the same design as No. (iii), omitting the sculpture. *Cf.* p. 58.

(v) *London University.* (*a*) *Elevation and Plan.* (*b*) *Portico and Section. B. Ferrey del. T. Bury Sculp. John Weale, Architectural Library*, 59, *High Holborn.* Published in W. H. Leeds : *Illustrations of the Public Buildings of London . . .* 1835, pp. 77, 82.

A variant design, substituting lanterns for cupolas in the wings.

Of the building as it was actually left by Wilkins there are three prints :—

(i) *The Public Buildings of Westminster described. With twelve engravings. By the author of "Wars of the Jews," &c. London : John Harris, corner of St. Paul's Church-yard*, 1831, *p.* 188. *Cf.* p. 75.

(ii) *To the Pupils of the University of London School, this Print of their Play Ground is respectfully dedicated by G. Scharf, London. Published by G. Scharf*, 44, *Francis St., Tottenham Court Road*, 1833. *Cf.* p. 143.

(iii) *London University College, C. W. Radcliffe del. et lith.* [n.d., but later than 1836.] *Cf.* p. 109.

APPENDIX II.

NOTES UPON THE DEPARTMENTAL & FACULTY, AND UPON THE STATISTICAL, CHARTS.

i. DEPARTMENTAL AND FACULTY CHARTS.

1. The charts give the names of all members of the academic staff other than Assistants and Demonstrators. Deputies are omitted.

2. The Departmental organisation has existed since the opening of the College in 1828.

The Faculty organisation, i.e. the grouping together of Departments for the purposes of co-ordination and co-operation, was initiated in 1832, when three Faculties were established, which, as from the session 1833–4, were reduced to two only, namely :

(*a*) Faculty of Arts and Laws.
(*b*) Faculty of Medicine.

In 1870 the Faculty of Science was organised.

In 1907, on the incorporation of the College in the University and the constitution of the Medical School and Hospital as a separate Corporation, the Faculty of Medical Sciences was instituted.

In 1908 the Faculty of Arts and Laws was divided into two Faculties, namely, the Faculty of Arts and the Faculty of Laws, and the Faculty of Science into two, namely, the Faculty of Science and the Faculty of Engineering.

Schedule of Charts.

Chart 1. The Departments constituting the present Faculty of Arts.

Chart 2. Special Schools, forming part of the Faculty of Arts, namely :

The Slade School of Fine Art.
The Bartlett School of Architecture.
The Indian School, which was transferred to the School of Oriental Studies by order of the Senate in 1917.
The School of Librarianship.

Chart 3. The Departments now constituting the Faculty of Laws.

Chart 4. The Departments now constituting the Faculty of Science.

Chart 5. The Departments now constituting the Faculty of Engineering.

Chart 6. The Departments now constituting the Faculty of Medical Sciences, and the School of Advanced Medical Studies, University College Hospital, established in 1907 by the University College Transfer Act.

ii. STATISTICAL CHARTS.

Numbers of Students. Totals are given throughout. Up to the year 1877–8 the numbers are those of men only. Women were admitted for the first time into the Faculties of Arts, Laws, and Science in 1878. The figures are taken from the *Reports*, supplemented, in the early years, by the report in *The Morning Chronicle*[1] of the evidence given before the Privy Council in 1834. The total for session 1860–1 includes 113 Evening Students, the first appearance of this class. Their numbers fall away rapidly, and fluctuate considerably. The most recent figures, for the years 1916 to 1925, include, in addition to the total of Evening Students, a number of Students attending Vacation Courses. For purposes of reference, these totals have been set out separately in the table below (Table I).

College Expenditure :

(*a*) *Salaries of Professors, Assistants, and Schoolmasters.*

(*b*) *Establishment Expenditure.*

The accounts of University College School are included, up to the year 1906, when it became a separate institution, and the College was incorporated in the University of London. Items relating to the School of Advanced Medical Studies also disappear in this year, owing to the formation of University College Hospital medical school.

For the early years the amounts under the headings " Income from Fees " and " Salaries Expenditure " are estimated totals. Considerable difficulty was experienced in obtaining accurate information for these years. In some cases the fees are not stated, in others only the fees to the date of the Annual Meeting in February are given. For some time the professors were paid directly a two-thirds share of the students' fees, and the amount was not put down in the accounts, but only the

[1] *The Morning Chronicle*, 25 Apr. 1834, 1 b.

proportion of fees claimed by the University. To obtain an estimate for the total fees this amount has been trebled, and checked by a comparison with the figures of total fees up to February, where given. This was possible because the ratio of fees up to February to fees for the whole year was fairly constant over a number of years, being approximately as four is to five. The receipts from fees in the second year were nearly fifty per cent. greater than in the previous year, owing to students attending a larger number of classes. The large increase in 1832–3 is due to the rapid growth of the Junior School, which was first brought within the walls of the College in Jan., 1832.

The Expenditure on Salaries has been estimated for the first few years by doubling the "University Proportion of Fees" and adding the "Guarantees to Professors," which were found to be necessary at the beginning. The total reached was checked by comparison with the actual number of professors who held office in any one year. The total guarantees, for the first three years, came approximately to £2,300, £2,000, and £2,000; after that they ceased altogether. The sum £4,388 5*s.* is given as the Professors' Share of Fees for the year 1832–3. To this has been added a sum of roughly £2,500, on account of payments to schoolmasters, for, up to 22nd February, 1833, the numbers were, 438 students and 229 pupils. If we compare this with the year 1837–8, the first in which the total salaries paid are given, we find that, up to 17th February, there were 592 students to 280 pupils, while the payments on account of salary were, professors, £6,709 3*s.* 4*d.*; masters, £3,127 16*s.* 6*d.* At this proportion we would have a total of £2,300 for masters in the year 1832–3, but the school grew rapidly after the 22nd of February, and the estimated figure of £2,500 allows for this increase. In both cases the figures are necessarily round numbers, but they may be taken as approximately correct.

Under the heading "Endowments" are included all grants from the Treasury and from various public bodies. Donations are added which were used for the ordinary purposes of the year, but not those, for instance, which were spent upon new buildings, since that constituted an increase in the capital assets of the College. In some cases in the early period a deficiency was met by the sale of stocks, but only such portion of the proceeds as was devoted to ordinary expenditure has been included. Bequests which were invested are not, of course, taken into account, but only the annual interest derived from them.

"Establishment Expenditure" comprises all the items of expenditure incurred by the College, apart from salaries of the teaching staff. Included are: salaries of the administrative staff, wages, heating and lighting, rates, repairs to apparatus, payments for various services, and

miscellaneous expenditure. The item "Expenditure on Scholarships, Exhibitions, and Prizes" is not charted, for the reason that it is a comparatively small and steady amount, which, plotted on the same scale as the other totals, would not convey much to the eye. The accompanying Table (Table II), however, gives some idea of the general trend, by giving the average annual amount spent for every ten years of the century, with the exception of the period from 1905 onwards. This period has been so adjusted as to give a separate average for the war years 1914–18. Otherwise two important facts would have been obscured, (*a*) that the average over the years 1905–14 is considerably lower than those over the two preceding decades, (*b*) that the average for the years 1918–25 is the highest on record.

Total Income and total Expenditure, while they roughly correspond, do not exactly balance one another, for several reasons. Some items, such as cash in hand, payments in connection with the hospital which were not for purely teaching purposes, and expenditure on account of scholarships and prizes, are not included. Credit and debit balances have also to be allowed for. If sometimes a portion of building expenditure was met out of income the amount was not included.

At one time a separate chart was planned, to show the expenditure on buildings, capital value of site and stocks, and of other assets. This, however, had to be abandoned owing to the absence of periodical valuations of the property possessed by the College.

One other point remains to be noticed. The financial year 1919–20 was one of eleven months, owing to the change in date of the beginning of the financial year to the 1st of August. This does not materially affect Income I or II, or Expenditure I, but the total of "Establishment Expenditure" is not strictly comparable with that of previous or later years.

TABLE I.

VACATION COURSE—STUDENTS.

Year.	*Men.*	*Women.*	*Total.*
1916–17	30	129	159
1917–18	8	59	67
1918–19	34	110	144
1919–20	96	191	287
1920–21	138	95	233
1921–22	102	84	186
1922–23	108	120	228
1923–24	66	92	158
1924–25	97	117	214

TABLE II.

EXPENDITURE ON SCHOLARSHIPS, EXHIBITIONS, AND PRIZES.

Period.	*Average Amount.* £	s.	d.	*Period.*	*Average Amount.* £	s.	d.
1825–35	216	2	11	1885–95	2,075	11	3
1835–45	294	8	8	1895–1905	2,204	10	7
1845–55	381	8	9	1905–14	1,802	2	1
1855–65	553	5	2	1914–18	1,332	5	6
1865–75	979	15	8	1918–25	2,500	6	2
1875–85	1,742	12	1				

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Bellot, Hugh H.

University college, London, 1826-1926.